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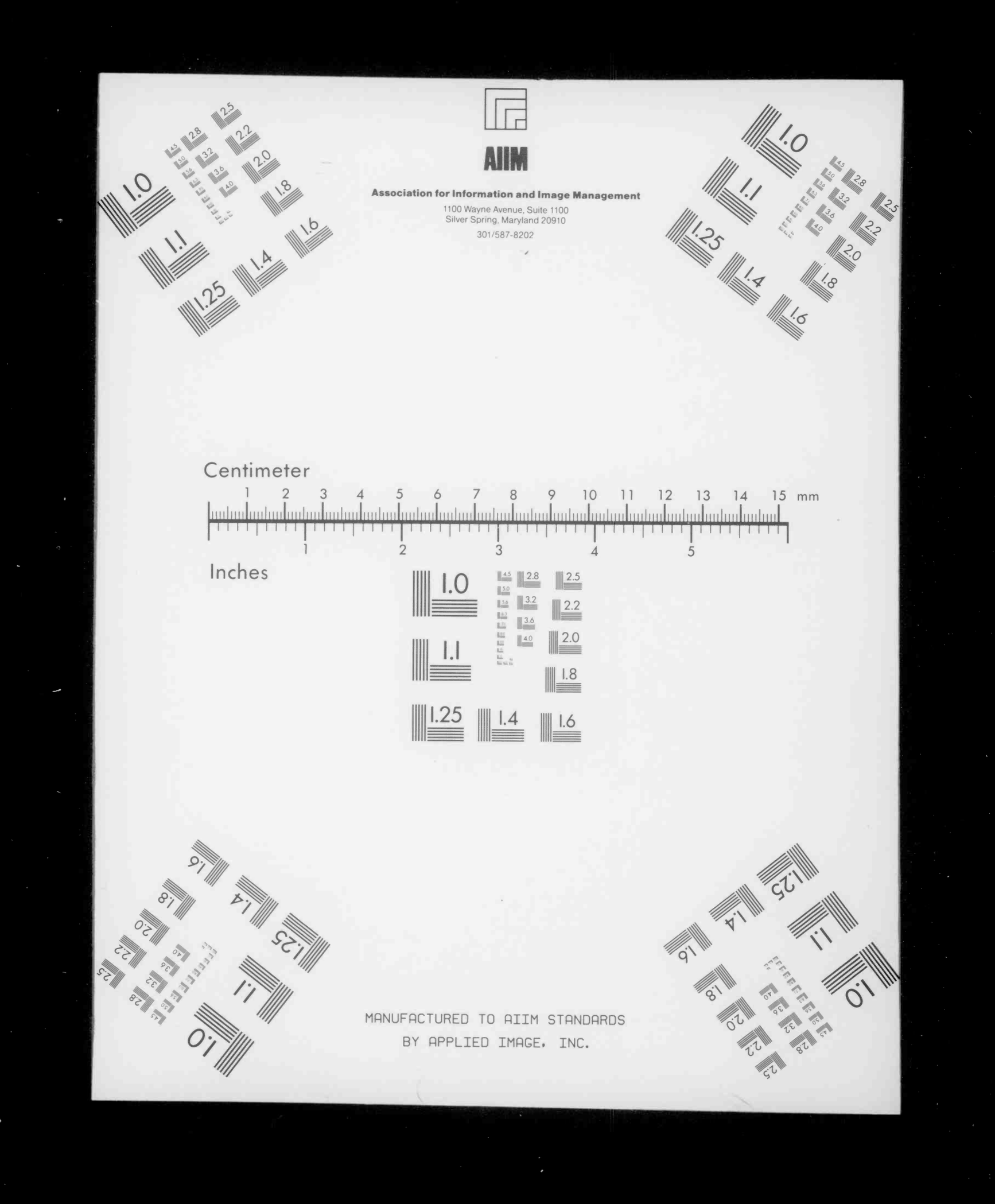
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The

Life, Teachings and Works

OF

LUDWIG HETZER

1500 - 1529

BY

FREDERICK LEWIS WEIS

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THE LIFE AND TEACHINGS

OF

LUDWIG HETZER

A Leader and Martyr of the Anabaptists

1500 - 1529

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THÈSE

présentée à la Faculté de Théologie protestante

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pour obtenir le grade de Docteur d'Université
et soutenue publiquement

BY

THE REVEREND FREDERICK LEWIS WEIS, B. D., S. T. M.

Minister of the First Church of Christ in

Lancaster, Massachusetts.

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FACULTÉ DE THÉOLOGIE PROTESTANTE
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NOTICE

Ludwig Hetzer usually spelled his surname Hätzer, though by no means invariably so, but for facility in typesetting and reading, the simpler form is here used.

PREFACE

No detailed sympathetic life of Ludwig Hetzer has heretofore been written. Excellent as is the presentation of Dr. Theodore Keim's life of Hetzer—it surely is neither impartial nor satisfactory. Keim's monograph was published in 1856. It was written in the days before philosophy and theology had been softened and humanized by evolution. Hetzer's teachings are strangely akin to the modern theological views of the 20th century—while those of Keim, his biographer, are rigidly set in the theology of Reformation times. Between the lines of Keim's work one is continually conscious that the author is correctly orthodox—unsympathetic towards Anabaptist beliefs—almost more prone to see the heretic in Hetzer than the man. And yet in spite of all this the results of Keim's industrious searching of the old records and his judicious selections from Hetzer's writings remain a memorial to his comprehensive and painstaking scholarship.

Using the sources of Keim with much of his excellent material, along with the more recent contributions of Keller, Brons, Jackson and others, as a basis for the present work, the author has tried to sketch as vividly as possible from a critical, modern—yet sympathetic point of view—the principal teachings and events of the life of Ludwig Hetzer.

F. L. W.

Lancaster, Masachusetts.
October 20, 1929.

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CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF LUDWIG HETZER

ca. 1500	Born at Bischofszell, in the Thurgau, Switzerland.
ca. 1515-7	Probably at the University of Freiburg in Germany.
ca. 1520	Chaplain at Wadenschwyl on the Lake of Zurich.
December 1523	Took Part in the Second Public Disputation at Zurich.
October 22, 1523 to April 6, 1524	Strife with Conrad of Maschwanden.
June 29, 1524	Leaves Zurich for Augsburg.
Fall of 1524	Returns to Zurich.
January 21, 1525	Exiled from Zurich. Goes to Augsburg.
September 14, 1525	Leader of the Anabaptists at Augsburg. Exiled soon after. At Constance.
October 17, 1525	With Oecolampadius at Basle.
November 4, 1525	At Zurich again.
December 28, 1525	Returns to Basle.
February 1526	Revisits Zurich.

March 1526	Leaves Zurich for Basle again.
Summer of 1526	Leaves Basle for Strasbourg.
December 21, 1526	Hans Denck banished from Strasbourg. Hetzer follows Denck to Worms.
January to July, 1527	At Worms.
July 1527 to July 1528	Months of Wandering. At Augsburg, Nuremberg, Constance, Ulm, Bischofszell.
August 1528 to January 1529	In Prison at Constance.
February 4, 1529	Beheaded at Constance.

To All

Fearless Prophets of the Truth

"The world calls one whom it does not understand a heretic."

Sebastian Franck.

"Everything that is true, is God's word, whoever may have said it."

Ulrich Zwingli.

"Oh God, my Father, grant us fearless prophets: Open my mouth and I will unflinchingly speak thy truth!"

Ludwig Hetzer.

THE
LIFE AND TEACHINGS
OF
LUDWIG HETZER

Chapter I.

Introduction.

Imagine the state of a nation whose clergy almost to a man were entirely unfamiliar with the New Testament, whose clergy spent its time in drinking, feasting, sleeping or worse habits. Such was the condition of the clergy of Switzerland, and indeed of all of Europe, during the half century before the Reformation. It was not that they were depraved or very wicked, or indeed that they had lost their sense of moral decency. They were in truth only woefully ignorant.

Thus in 1503, Christopher, the bishop of Basle, addressed the synod of his diocese in regard to the immorality of the clergy, as follows:

"Since we have learned with the greatest chagrin that the greater part of the priests of our city and diocese when they are called to conduct the funeral services of nobles and other persons, give themselves up to gaming and drunkenness, so that many of them at times sit the whole night at play; others exhaust themselves at swilling and drunkenness and sleep the whole night through on the benches, and by other extraordinary excesses bring scandal, disgrace and derision upon the clerical profession: Therefore, we command that all clergymen who are so invited, and all others, shall not give themselves up to dicing and card playing, nor to other irregular and disgraceful actions

at any time whatever, and especially in taverns and rooms belonging to the laity . . . . . " [1]

This state of affairs was to be found everywhere in Europe. Bishop Hugo of Constance sent out a pastoral letter in 1517, similar to that of Bishop Christopher of Basle, in which he declares that he is grieved to find that many of the clergy are not only given to drinking and gambling, but that many are living openly with concubines. He ordered them to remove all such suspected women from their houses and to set a better example to the laity. [2]

Moreover Heinrich Bullinger of Zurich, who was the immediate successor of Zwingli, wrote in his History of the Reformation, concerning the clergy previous to the year 1519:

"At one time during these years when all the deacons of the Confederation were assembled together there were found not over three who were well read in the Bible. The others acknowledged that none of them had read even the New Testament, whereby we may understand how it was with the other clergy, with whom the case was still worse. For, among the clergy there was almost no studying, but their exercise was in gaming, in feeding, and in the practice of all luxuries. The more earnest were accused of hypocricy. Those who studied somewhat devoted themselves to scholastic theology and canon law. The greater part preached out of sermon books, learning by heart sermons written by monks and printed, repeating them to the people without judgement," etc . . . [3]

As Dr. J. M. Vincent has said, the priest was the

[1] Wilhelm Oechsli: Quellenbuch zur Schweizergeschichte. Zurich, 1886. ii. 473. Quoted from the Introductory Chapter in Jackson: Heroes of the Reformation: Huldreich Zwingli, by John Martin Vincent, PhD., pages 25-27.
[2] Jackson: Zwingli, page 27. Simmler: Sammlung alter und neuer Urkunden zur Beleuchtung der Kirchen-Geschichte. Zurich, 1759. i. 779.
[3] Bullinger: Reformationsgeschichte. i. 3. Quoted from Jackson: Zwingli, p. 28.

child of his generation, and conduct which would not be tolerated now was regarded with indifference at the close of the 15th century. If conditions such as these commonly occurred among the clergy we may be sure that the moral and spiritual life of the laity was at a low ebb.

Ever since the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, learned scholars who had fled from the East continued to come to the places of culture in western Europe bringing with them copies of the works of the ancient Greeks, and the men of the western world—hungry for knowledge—began to study the ancient texts in Greek, Latin and Hebrew. In the wake of the classical awakening known as the Renaissance followed the moral awakening known as the Reformation. As time went on more and more the humanist scholars turned their attention from the classics to the study of the Bible,—and like wild-fire swept the desire of the common man to read and study and meditate upon the scriptures. Tired of the superficiality of the Roman Church, men began to search in the Holy Scripture for the true way of life. The more earnest and high-minded priests were naturally the leaders in the movement which, at first almost imperceptibly, led in the end to the reformation of the Roman Church and to the establishment of the Protestant Churches. In Switzerland the greatest of the early Swiss reformers, Ulrich Zwingli, wrote to his friend Myconius on December 2, 1518 that on beginning his work at Zurich he was determined to commence his preaching in the Great Minster there with an exposition of the gospel of Matthew as a whole,—"a book," he said, "which is *unknown* to the Germans!"

Small wonder, then, when the gospel really began to be known by the common people, that a reformation in their churches, in their clergy and in their lives took place. Small wonder, then, that Chillingworth should declare that "the Bible, and the Bible only, is the religion of the Protestants". Small wonder, moreover, that other

men in their reading of the Bible found that they could no longer walk in the ways of Rome—nor even in the ways of Luther and Zwingli and Calvin. For they interpreted the Bible spiritually. They read between the lines. They found in addition to the literal teachings of the Word of God that there were spiritual truths buried within it. They found in Christ not only a Master but a brother, and they found a Voice of God within their own hearts. Henceforth, for them, the Pope was no longer their authority. Henceforth, for them, the Bible could be no longer their sole authority. Only the voice of conscience, the voice of God implanted in their hearts, could be their final authority. They called themselves the Apostolic Brethren, and in all simplicity, and in all sincerity, they sought to walk in the footsteps of Jesus.

It is of these of whom we wish to speak in this book —and more especially of the life and teachings of one of their leaders and martyrs, Ludwig Hetzer.

Chapter II.

The Beginnings of the Reformation at Zurich.

The Reformation crept over German Switzerland gradually and almost imperceptibly. In Zurich it was mainly due to the sagacity, moral earnestness and astuteness of Ulrich Zwingli.[4] We know there are flaws in his character but we honor this man who accomplished a mighty task largely by his own exertions. His method was to preach the gospel fearlessly, to let its truth saturate the minds and the hearts of the people and then by clever leadership to cause the people themselves, through their magistrates, and councils, to pass laws which abolished ancient and evil practices and to substitute laws and customs which were in keeping with the Bible. Zwingli was no hot-headed revolutionist. He proved to the City Council from the Scriptures themselves what was right and the Council in turn enacted the laws which brought about desired reforms. In this way he gradually caused the abolition of images, convents, monasteries and celibacy for the clergy. And for the mass he substituted the Protestant service. In all this Zwingli had the help of able assistants but his was the moving power behind all the reforms of Zurich.

"Caution was Zwingli's characteristic. He would move no faster than public sentiment approved. Yet he did his best to form such sentiment. He prepared the way for the change and then quietly let things come to a

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[4] See Jackson: H. Zwingli, for an excellent account in English.
Zwingli was born, January 1, 1484, at Wildhaus, in the Toggenburg Valley, Switzerland. He studied at Basle, Bern and Vienna. He received his B. A. at Basle in 1504 and his M. A. there in 1506. From 1506 to 1516 he was a priest at Glarus, then until 1518 he was the people's priest at the monastery of Einsiedeln. In 1519 he was called to become people's priest at the Great Minster at Zurich. Soon after his call he became ill with the plague but after his recovery, by a continuous stream of sermons and writings he brought about the Reformation at Zurich. On October 11, 1531, he was killed on the battlefield of Cappel.

crisis." [5]

In 1521, Zwingli began his campaign for the marriage of the clergy. During that year the Canon Conrad Hoffmann reported him as saying: "Among a hundred or a thousand spiritual persons, priests, monks, nuns, Brothers and Sisters, and such like, who promise chastity, scarcely a single one can be found who is not habitually unchaste." [6]

Later, on July 2, 1522, Zwingli wrote, published and spread broadcast a pamphlet on the marriage of the clergy entitled: "Petition of certain preachers of Switzerland to the Most Reverend Lord Hugo, Bishop of Constance, that he will not suffer himself to be persuaded to make any proclamation to the injury of the Gospel, nor longer endure the scandal of harlotry, but allow the priests to marry wives, or at least to wink at their marriages." Later, on July 13th of the same year, he wrote and published a second pamphlet on the same subject called: "A friendly request and exhortation of certain priests of the Confederacy that the preaching of the Gospel be not stopped, and that no one be offended if the priests, in order to avoid scandal, contract marriages." Thus it was Zwingli's firm conviction that priests should be allowed to marry. But it is characteristic of the man that he himself did not openly marry until two years later when, on April 2, 1524, he married the widow Anna Reinhard.

On August 22nd of this same year he published a booklet called "Archeteles", "The Beginning and the End", which sought in one blow to gain spiritual freedom.

As a result of all this propaganda for reform and the assent and criticism caused by it, the governing body of the city of Zurich decided to have a public disputation in

[5] Jackson: Zwingli, p. 200.
[6] Egli: Acten-sammlung, No. 213, p. 62. Quoted from Jackson: Zwingli, p. 168.

which the points at issue might be examined by the City Council. The following invitation was sent on January 3, 1523, to all interested persons:

"We, the Burgomaster, Council and the Great Council, as the Two Hundred of the city of Zurich are called, send to all and every people's priest, pastor, curate, and preacher having parish or dwelling in our cities, country, dominion, upper and lower jurisdiction and territory, our salutation, favorable and gracious disposition, and would have you to wit: Since now for a long time much dissension and disagreement have existed among those preaching the Gospel to the common people, some believing that they have truly and completely delivered the gospel message, others reproving them as if they had not done it skillfully and properly. Consequently the latter call the former errorists, traitors, and even heretics, although they, desiring to do the best thing, and for the sake of the honor of God, peace and Christian unity, offer to give to anyone desiring it account and proof of their doctrines out of Holy Scripture. So this is our command, will, and desire: That ye pastors, curates, preachers, as a body and individually, if any especial priests desire to speak about this, having benefices in our city of Zurich, or otherwheres in our territory, or if any desire to reprove the other side, or otherwise to instruct them, appear before us on the day after Emperor Charles's day, that is the nine and twentieth day of the month of January, at early Council time, in our city of Zurich and particularly in our Council House, and that those contending should do so, using the truly Divine Word in the German tongue and speech. There we with all diligence, with some scholars, if it seems good to us, will give attention, and, according to what shall prove itself to be consonant with Holy Scripture and truth, we shall send each and every one of you home with the command to continue or abstain; so that from henceforth each one may not preach from the pulpit what seems

to him good, without foundation in the true Holy Scripture. We shall also announce the same to our gracious lord (the Bishop) of Constance, so that his Grace or his representative, if he so desire, may also be present. But if anyone be contrarious and bring not in proof from the true, Holy Scripture with him we shall proceed further according to our knowledge, in a way from which we would gladly be relieved. We are also of good hope in Almighty God that those earnestly seeking the light of truth He will so graciously illuminate with the same, that we may walk in the light as children of the light.

"Given and officially stamped with our secret seal, Saturday after the Circumcision of Christ and after His birth in the three and twentieth year of the lesser reckoning." [7]

Just before this disputation was held, Zwingli published in German a list of 67 articles, chief among which are the following:

I. All who say that the Gospel is nothing without the confirmation of the Church err and reflect on God.

XVII. (*Of the Pope.*) That Christ is the only eternal high-priest, therefore it follows that those who have given themselves out as high-priests resist, yea, reject the honor and authority of Christ.

XVIII. (*Of the Mass.*) . . . . . that the mass is not a sacrifice, only the commemoration of the sacrifice . . .

XX. (*Intercession of the Saints.*) That God will give us all things in his name. Consequently it follows that we do not need any other mediator than he outside of this life.

XXIV. (*Food Prohibition.*) That every Christian is not bound to do what God has not commanded, so that he may at any time eat any sort of food; therefore it follows that the cheese and butter dispensations are Roman

[7] Egli: Acten-sammlung, No. 318; Jackson: Zwingli. p. 180 181.

impositions. [8]

XXVIII. (*Marriage of the Clergy*) . . . . . that marriage is proper for all.

XXX. (*Vows of Chastity.*) That those who take vows of chastity foolishly or childishly assume too much . .

XXXIV. (*Of the Hierarchy.*) The so-called spiritual power has no ground for its pomp in the teachings of Christ.

XXXVI. (*Secular Power from God.*) All that the so-called spiritual order claims to belong to it of right and for the protection of the right belongs to the secular arm when it is Christian.

XXXVII. To it all Christians without exception owe obedience;

XXXVIII. So far as it does not order what is contrary to God.

XLIX. (*Of Scandal*) I do not know of any greater scandal than that priests should not be allowed wives, but should be allowed concubines by paying money for the privilege. Out upon the shameful business!

LVII. (*Of Purgatory.*) The true Holy Scriptures know nothing of a purgatory after this life.

LVIII. The judgement passed upon the dead is known only to God.

LXVI. All spiritual superiors should immediately humble themselves and exalt alone the cross of Christ, not the money-chest, or they will perish, for I say to you: the axe is at the tree. [9]

On the morning of the eventful day, January 29, 1523, more than 600 persons assembled at the Town Hall to take part in the disputation.

We will not follow this first disputation in detail.

[8] Dispensations issued by the ecclesiastical authorities allowing these articles to be eaten during Lent by those receiving such dispensations.

[9] Jackson: Zwingli, 183-185. More fully given in Giesler's Ecclesiastical History. Vol. 4. pp. 89-91 Note.

But the results are summed up for us in the proclamation of the Burgomaster and of the Great and Small Councils of the city: "..... Furthermore, all your people's priests, curates and preachers in your cities and canton and dependencies, shall undertake and preach nothing but what can be proved by the Holy Gospel and the pure Holy Scriptures: furthermore, they shall in no wise for the future slander, call each other heretic, or insult in such manner. Whoever, however, appears contrarious, and not sufficiently obedient, the same will be put under restraint, that they must see and discover that they have committed wrong.

"Given on Thursday after Charles's day, in the city of Zurich, upon the 29th day of January in the year MDXXIII." [10]

Later in the same year, on September 29, 1523, the Council ordered: that no fees should be collected in the Great Minster for baptisms, dispensations of the Eucharist or interments without gravestones: that the use of candles at burials was not obligatory: that all the clergy of the Minster must preach the Word of God: that the Bible should be daily publicly read for an hour each in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and at the same time explained: that a thorough education should be given all candidates for the ministry: that there should not be two kinds of priests at the Minster—canons and chaplains—but only one kind: that the Great Minster surplus should be distributed to the poor. [11]

[10] Jackson, 190-191. Giesler, IV., 91; Anshelm, VI., 195 f.

[11] Jackson, 200; Egli, Nos. 368, 372, 425, 426. Bullinger, 115-119. For the Reforms of 1524 see Füssli, II., 59; Bullinger, I., 160; Bernhard Weiss in Füssli, IV., 57; Anshelm, VI., 225; Giesler, IV., 95, n. 89.

It may be wondered how the Popes and the Roman Church—all-powerful as they were in contrast to tiny Zurich—allowed Zwingli to carry on such a bold reformation of church abuses. It will be remembered, however, that both the Popes and the French monarchs used Swiss soldiers for their body guards. Many of the most useful of these Swiss mercenaries were furnished by Zurich. To secure their services both Popes and kings vied with one another. Enormous bonuses were paid the soldiers, and the papacy, in order to ingratiate itself with them, showered them with indulgences and employed a policy of *laissez-faire* towards the rebellious Swiss cantons and cities. At first Zwingli denounced the corrupt lives of the mercenaries and declared that the looseness of their morals was due to the large fees which they received for their services. In order to silence Zwingli the Pope conferred upon him a lucrative pension which for a time he accepted. But finally Zwingli renounced this "hush money", for in truth that is what it really was. The papacy evidently had misjudged its man. Zwingli instead of becoming, as was hoped, a willing tool became a spirited reformer. Finally, before the papacy really comprehended the moral earnestness and determination of the man, the reformation at Zurich was well under way and beyond the power of Pope or Emperor to put down successfully. See Jackson's Life of Zwingli and Giesler's Ecclesiastical History, passim.

Thus, slowly and deliberately, one reform after another was introduced and was incorporated into the laws and customs of the people of Zurich. These reforms were introduced so gradually that in time the vast majority of the citizens were won to Zwingli's views.

Yet not all of the citizens of Zurich were pleased with the way in which things were going. Both reactionary and radical parties sprang up. For the most part these discontented spirits (strange to relate) did not belong to the conservative element, but to the radical party. For among the reformers themselves were some few outstanding men who were impatient with the tactics of Zwingli, who thought he moved too slowly, who wanted to bring in the Reformation at Zurich in one fell stroke. Among this number were several priests who later joined the Anabaptist party; notably Conrad Grebel, Simon Stumpf, Felix Manz and Ludwig Hetzer.

Chapter III

Birth, Education and Early Years of Ludwig Hetzer

Among the early leaders of the Reformation in Switzerland no one possessed a more interesting character than Ludwig Hetzer. Intrepid, deeply penetrating, determined and thorough—as he was by nature—because of adverse circumstances he was everywhere opposed, his efforts apparently came to naught and his name indeed is almost forgotten. And yet the passage of four hundred years has proven that Hetzer often sifted out the less worthy elements of the Christian religion and retained more of its pure gold than many of the more familiarly known leaders of the Reformation.

Hetzer was born at Bischofszell, a Swiss hamlet some eleven miles to the south east of Constance. He was born about the year 1500, the exact date being unknown. The little town of Bischofszell is situated in the Thurgau at the junction of the rivers Sitter and Thur. Theodore Bibliander, a famous leader of the reformation, was born there and not many miles distant was the birth-place of Ulrich Zwingli.[12]

Bischofszell always remained Hetzer's home though he wandered far afield. It was there that his aged father still dwelt in 1529. We lack even the most meagre details of the date of his birth, of his early education and of the places where he grew up and where his youth was spent. It is probable, as reliable contemporary sources state, that Hetzer was brought up as a Waldensian.[13] The Waldensians, it will be remembered, were a midiaeval sect of simple Bible Christians who had determined to live exactly as the Old and especially as the New Testaments directed. They were the followers of Peter Waldo who in 1176 went about preaching the gospel as a lay preacher. Condemned and excommunicated by the Roman Church the Waldensians endured through the centuries of persecution to spread throughout Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Austria and Germany, and they are the only mediaeval sect which still survives. Their doctrines were much like those of Arnold of Brescia for they preached apostolic poverty and they lived as nearly as they knew how as Jesus and the Apostles lived.[14] We are not surprised, therefore to hear it said that Grebel, Blaurock, Manz and Hetzer—early leaders of the Swiss Reformation—later to become Apostolic Brethren and Anabaptists—"were all Waldensians and learned the doctrines of this sect when children from their parents".[15] Whether or not Hetzer and these other friends were really Waldensians by birth and upbringing will remain a question, but at least we may say that at an early age they must have become familiar with and friendly to the teachings of this sect. For in those days dogma in the Roman Church had become somewhat inert and private beliefs might be safely held if there was outward conformity to the ritual and practices of the Roman Church.[16]

Evidently Hetzer was much attached to his home for he often visited it, and he thought with affection and constancy of his aged father to whom the news of his condemnation before the City Council of Constance brought much grief. Regarding his training we only know

[12] Keim; Article on "Ludwig Hetzer", Jaberb f. d. Theologie, 1856, p. 216. Unless otherwise noted, when Keim is mentioned, reference is made to this article.

[13] van Braght: Het bloedig tooneel of Martelaars-Spiegel, 1685. II. pp. 23 and 24. "Lodovicus (Hetzer) was van de Gemeynte der Waldensen." The same authority tells us that Hans Hut "was a member of the old Waldensian Brothers." The Chronicler Joh. Salat says that Hetzer was "einen der Pickischen" (i. e. Waldensians); Archiv für Schweis. Ref. Gesch. I., 21. Ludwig Keller: Johann von Staupitz, p. 229. J. van den Smissen in Mennonit. Blättern, No. 7, 1854, declares that in part the Waldensians were responsible for the break with the Catholic Church which resulted in the Protestant Reformation. Anna Brons: Ursprung, etc. p. 408 said: Hetzer's "forefathers were Waldenses".

[14] In this same atmosphere of "apostolic poverty" and literal fulfillment of the commands of Christ in which the Waldenses flourished, the Franciscans had their birth, yet though the Waldensians and the Arnoldists were excommunicated and persecuted by the Roman Church the Franciscans flourished under its patronage.

[15] Keller: Johann von Staupitz, p. 268.

[16] Harnack: History of Dogma, Vol. VII, pp. 8-18. F. A. Christie.

that he received an excellent education in the classical tongues as well as in classical literature. In Latin he was a perfect letter-writer and he had an extraordinary knowledge of Greek and Hebrew.[17]

We have no exact proof where Hetzer received this excellent education. But it is highly probable that he was a student at the University of Freiburg in Germany. He seems to have known intimately the customs and teachers of this place and his friendly relations with Urbanus Rhegius, a former student at Freiburg, indicate that the two might have been together there. Urbanus, moreover, knew the strength and the weakness of Hetzer's character and the friendly tolerance with which he regarded Hetzer's conduct and writings may well have been caused by a friendship between them begun during their university life at Freiburg.[18] In 1521, Zwingli speaks of Hetzer as a "young man" (juvenis) and it is likely that he had been out of college but a few years at this time. During the decade from 1505 to 1515, Freiburg was extraordinarily popular. Humanists and Biblical studies flourished under Ulrich Zasius, Jacob Wimfeling, Joseph Breisgauer, and the young tutors Johann Eck, Matthew Zell, Jacob Sturm

[17] Keim, p. 217.

[18] Concerning the anonymous pamphlet "Apologia Simonis Hessi adversus dominum Roffensem, episcopum Anglicanum, super concortatione eius cum Ulrico Veleno, an Petrus fuerit Romae, et quid de primatus Romani pontificis sit censendum." Hetzer wrote to Zwingli, 1525, "ego arbitrabar, Friburgi hunc natum esse. Urbanus autem subridens inquit: Ludovice, ariolare, quis ipse Hessus sit? Ego: non possum equidem nisi quantum ex stylo conjiciens reor, me ipsum Friburgi novisse." (Zw. ep.) Hetzer wrote to Zwingli that this was the work of Urbanus Rhegius. It appeared in July, 1523. John Fisher (fl. 1504) Bishop of Rochester wrote against Luther and Oecolampadius. His work was called "De unica Magdalena", and appeared in three volumes at Paris in 1519. Hetzer and Urbanus Rhegius were on good terms at this time and had been for years. Yet Urbanus had no connection with Zurich and Constance, and there was no connection between these two places and Freiburg and Inglostadt. Regarding Hetzer's relation to Urbanus Rhegius: quem ut meos novi digitulos:-totus, quantus est, cupidini auriculae hominum vivit (Hetzer to Zwingli, September 1525.) Regarding Rhegius' relation to Hetzer: January 22, 1529: praesagiit animus meus jam olim perniciem moliri. (Simmler: Sammlung in Zurich, Vol. 22.) In 1527, Urbanus said much against Denck nothing against Hetzer. From Keim, p. 217.

and Wolfgang Capito. It was at Capito's home that Urbanus Rhegius, Casper Hedio, Jacob Otther and Matthias Alber studied, and perhaps Hetzer also studied there. Matthias Zell especially awakened the love of study of the Old and New Testaments in his scholars and his teaching may well have brought the inspiration which led Hetzer to give so much of his life to the translation of so many books of the Bible. But it was due to the sweet and loveable Johann Breisgauer (Johann Calceator or John Shoemaker) that Freiburg exerted such a powerful influence upon the leaders of the Reformation. He taught a spirtual and mystical theology based upon the works of the great mystics. When all the rest of the world was undergoing a period of sterility Breisgauer brought new inspiration and new nourishment to his students from the pages of the mystic Johann Tauler while Zell brought new aspirations of the soul from his explanations of the excellent sermons of Geiler of Kaysersberg.

Without any doubt Hetzer imbibed the love for this mystical religion just as did his friend Hans Denck. Moreover he drank deeply from the Theologia Germanica as Hans Denck, Sebastian Frank and even Martin Luther did. Wherever it may have been he studied, Freiburg, Basle or elsewhere, he made contacts with these new and vital influences. [19]

[19] Keim, 218. Breisgauer wrote concerning Tauler to the nobles of Schönau. Zasius to Luther. Zasius' epistles, p. 394 ff. On Zell see Röhrich: Strassb. Beiträge, 2, 147 f. On Otther see Vierordt: Ref. v. Baden, p. 124.

Chapter IV.

Wadenschwyl. Hetzer's "Tütschen Büchli" and its Consequences.

Ludwig Hetzer is next found as a chaplain or preacher at Wadenschwyl on the lake of Zurich, then a ravishing little village, now a very important industrial centre. Nearby was the monastery of Einsiedeln where daily, many pilgrimages were made and where from 1517 to 1519 Ulrich Zwingli was the people's priest or popular preacher. And directly across the lake was the village of Rapperschwyl, the birth-place of another famous reformer of Zurich, Leo Jud. The principal city of the surrounding countryside was Zurich which could easily be reached by boat or by road. Flourishing Zurich, where dwelt "the greatest and wisest members of the Swiss Confederacy" [20], was quite naturally both materially and spiritually the center of Hetzer's neighborhood. But when in 1519 Zwingli was called to become the popular preacher at the Great Minster, Zurich became of double importance because the Swiss Reformation began there. [21]

Ulrich Zwingli's particular contribution was to throw new light upon the lessons of the New Testament. He explained the scriptures so completely and plainly that even young children could understand them. His goal was not so much to produce an interior tranquility and religious certitude of the soul as it was to foster the moral principles of life. He was practically-minded and sought to make all of his listeners morally better men, rather than to stir the profoundest religious depths of their souls. [22]

As soon as his activity commenced, however, the ecclesiastics began to complain of his attacks against the con-

[20] The account of Hetzer's enemy, the Pastor of Maschwanden.
[21] Keim, 219.
[22] Keim, 219.

vents, against the holy sacraments and the mass, against the saint's days and the saints themselves and against the popes. In response to his preaching the people demanded simpler services. German chants and liturgies were introduced. What the authorities did not dare to suggest, the people did. Even as early as 1522 fasting during Lent began to be discontinued at various places, for example at Wittenberg, and the people were inflamed against the mass and images, and during the following years they demanded their removal. Not only were the people ready to carry on this struggle with spirit, but a number of young clergymen and scholars, who were passionate in their demands, eagerly threw oil on the fire. Among these were Conrad Grebel and Felix Manz of Zurich and from nearby towns they were aided and abetted by Wilhelm Reubli, Johann Brodli and Ludwig Hetzer.

At this moment Ludwig Hetzer played a very strategic part in the affairs of the Swiss Reformation. On September 24, 1523, Hetzer published his first "Tütschen Büchli"—a simple book in German for the people, printed by Froschauer at Zurich, bearing the title: "The Judgment of God our Spouse as to how one should hold himself towards Idols and Images, according to the Holy Scriptures, by Ludwig Hetzer. O God Release the Captives". "eyn vrteyl Gottes vnsers eegemachels, wie man sich mit allem göttzen vnnd bildnussen halten sol, vss der heiligen gschrifft gezogen durch Ludw. Hetzer. O Got erlöss die gfangnen." [23] So popular was this little book that in less than a year it appeared in three editions in German and one in Latin. [24] Hetzer's motto, which appeared on nearly all of his publications, appears upon the title page of this little booklet, his first known writing.

[23] Bullinger, I, p. 127.
[24] "Judicum Dei es Sponsi nostri, quid cum Jmaginibus seu Simulachris agendum sit, ex Canonicis Scripturis, per Ludouicum Haetzer. O domine deus noster libera captvos tuos." 1524.

This little book, hardly longer than ten pages, is now very rare. In it he demanded the suppression of images under the menace of divine punishment. [25] It contains large extracts from the Old Testament, especially from the Pentateuch, the books of history and the book of Wisdom—without additions or explanations. And yet within this booklet his subject is justified and he sums its contents up in the short closing sentence: "God our Father and Spouse forbids us to make images." [26] Hetzer kept strictly to his subject. The detailed Biblical proofs concerning the commandments to destroy them, concerning the punishment of worshippers of idols and finally concerning the recompense to destroyers of idols—were in large measure the cause of the strength, popularity and influence which this brochure found among the people. [27]

Hetzer let the verses of scripture speak for him. He had little need to bolster them up with arguments of his own. Consequently his little book was without a peer among the contemporary works against idols and images.

Only in the short second part of the booklet does Hetzer show his own independent thoughts. With scriptural evidence he soundly refutes the following statements: (1) The Old Testament is no longer binding. (2) Images are not worshipped; only saints are worshipped. (3) Images are the books of the laity. (4) They stimulate men to piety and improvement. The characteristic note of this second section is Hetzer's dislike of images since they are not in keeping with his very advanced ideas concerning the Bible. "If the images and idols are not murderers—they kill souls and turn them away from God their spouse." [28]

[25] Keim.
[26] "Got unser vater vnnd Egmahel verbüt uns bilder zu machen."
[27] Keim.
[28] "Sind die Bild vnd ölgötzen nit möder, so sy die seelen töden und sy von gott irem eegemahel abfüern."

We do not need crucifixes he continues, for we should not worship Christ in the flesh, but only in spirit. Our prayers should not be made to images, but in spirit and in truth. No one can come to Christ through prayer to images. The Heavenly Father attracts us to him, yet all the images on earth placed in one spot could not attract us toward God. Images are only employed by men to whom belong the terrible vices of drunkenness, gourmandise and drinking and all those vices of which Paul speaks! [29]

The book ends with decision and firmness. Speaking of crucifixes, images and idols, Hetzer says: "Out with them to the fire. (Hell.) The wood belongs there. Here let all Christians run in haste forthwith that they may rid themselves of images, before God sends them the punishment he is accustomed to send to all who do not follow his word." [30] Finally Hetzer challenges all Papists to find a verse of scripture to the effect that images are good for anything except to throw into the fire. [31]

The book achieved a great popularity and it created a violent uproar among the people. An iconoclastic storm burst forth, in which a cobbler of Zurich called Nicholas Hottinger took a leading part, exhibiting a truly Vandal-like spirit. He would gladly, he declared, present a cask of wine to the hospital if he might be permitted to destroy all the paintings and votive tablets in the Wasserkirche. This man and his followers overturned a large crucifix in the Stadelhof near the upper gate of the city of Zurich and others would have shared its fate had these men not been checked. A friend and ally of Hottinger, Hochrütiner by name, was guilty of a similar outrage.

[29] Keim, 226.
[30] "Hus mit jnen fhür, da gehört das holz hin." "Hiemit flyssen sich alle Christen, das sy ylentz on verzug die götzen abthund, ee jnen Gott die straff zusende, so er gwon ist allen denen zu senden, die seinem wort nit volgend."
[31] Keim, 227.

With a few companions he had broken into the Minster of our Lady and there had dashed in pieces the ever burning lamp, poured out the oil, and with mocking gestures, sprinkled his associates with it. The government could not permit such outrages to go unpunished. The culprits were arrested and thrown in prison. Their sentences were suspended, however, until a clear opinion, in accordance with the Word of God, should be arrived at concerning the sanctity of images. [32]

And yet up to this time no thorough-going changes in the religious life of the people had taken place at Zurich. Lent was observed as usual. The sacrifice of the mass was still offered. Confessions continued to be heard, absolution was given and the images continued to stand in the churches. The scriptural authority of all these things was openly denied, it is true, but they still continued to exist just the same. [33]

Zwingli himself preached that images of the Virgin Mary and of the saints were idols and should be removed. Yet characteristically he took no steps to remove them from his own church, the Great Minster. [34]

Zwingli acknowledged that the destruction of the images in the churches of Zurich was logical although he deprecated the violence which Hottinger and Hochrütiner and their companions had used. He visited the offenders in prison and addressed them not as criminals but as overzealous and thoughtlessly unruly. Still the situation demanded action by the city and cantonal authorities. These appointed a committee composed of four members of the Small Council, four members of the Great Council with the three priests in charge of the three city parishes, Zwingli, Engelhard and Jud, to study the scriptural passages bearing on the religious use of images and to report to the Great Council. Meanwhile the iconoclasts remained in prison. [35]

[32] Hagenbach, I., 297 ff; Giesler, IV., 92, Note 74; Füssli, II., 33; Wirz, II., 124; Müller—Hottinger, VI., 387-450-498.
[33] Jackson: Op. cit. 199.
[34] Ibid: 202.

Finally the City Council on Monday, October 12, 1523, summoned all the clergy in the canton to discuss in a public debate to be held Monday, October 26, 1523, *What should be done about the church images and also the mass.* [36]

Urgent invitations to be represented were sent to the bishops of Constance, Basle and Chur, to the University of Basle, and to each canton. The answers received were characteristic. The Bishop of Constance declared, October 16, that he would be answerable to both of his rulers (Pope and Emperor) if he took part in the proposed disputation. He urged the Council to give up the idea and to leave all such questions to be answered at the coming General Council. The Bishop of Basle declared that he was too old and too weak to make the journey and that only the whole church should undertake such changes. Chur sent no reply at all. The Cantons except Schaffhausen and St. Gall declined to sent deputations. Bern and Solothurn replied in friendly fashion but said such matters should be discussed by the Confederacy as a whole. Lucerne reproached Zurich for her persistency in error. Upper Unterwalden was bitter and abusive and the Abbot of St. Gall politely refused to come. [37]

[35] Zwingli's letter of October 9, 1523. Jackson, p. 202.
[36] Jackson, 203; Bullinger, I. 128, gives text.
[37] Jackson.

Chapter V.

The Second Zurich Disputation.

Because of his book on Images, Hetzer was appointed to the important task of taking notes at the second disputation at Zurich. It is due to him, that we have a complete, detailed and accurate report of this conference. For after checking up his notes with those of his friend George Binder and sundry other persons, he published the acts of this disputation with the title: "Acts or history of what went on at the disputation concerning images and the mass." and the book was dedicated "To all faithful and elect brothers and sisters in Christ Jesus."

The City Council laid down the same general regulations for the conduct of this disputation as were ordered for the first disputation. These were: (i). The language used shall be the vernacular, and (ii). the final authority in all matters shall be the Word of God. [38]

The Burgomaster presided and the meeting was attended by some 350 ecclesiastics of the canton and 550 other attendants, and lasted for a period of three days.

The course of this discussion was remarkable in the extreme. In it a variety of opinions were expressed even amongst those most friendly to the gospel, relative to images and their use in the church, and also in regard to fasting and other things. Occasionally Simon Stumpf, Conrad Grebel and others exhibited a desire not to follow too closely the more moderate leaders but preferred to appeal to the living inspirations of the Spirit rather than to the dead letter of the Bible. It is interesting to note here that Simon Stumpf declared at this disputation: "You have no power to give judgment into the hands of the City Fathers; judgment is already given; the Spirit of God judges." [39] But in general the whole tone of the disputation was friendly and moderate in the extreme. [40]

[38] Jackson, 204. Salat drew up a Catholic account from Hetzer's notes. Giesler, IV. 96, n. 81; Bullinger, I. 126; Füssli, III. 1.

[39] Bax, pp. 15-16.

"Throughout the entire disputation it is refreshing, from time to time, to listen to the voice of one, who with evangelical wisdom and clemency, undertook to allay the storms, and, even at the risk of being misunderstood by Zwingli and his friends, steered towards the true mean. This was Conrad Schmidt of Küssnacht, commander of the Knights of St. John. He was a man after God's own heart, pious and sedate, moved by no passion, of a tranquil mind and dignified exterior, temperate in speech and action. He was the son of a farmer at Küssnacht. Although a few years the senior of Zwingli, he was united to him by ties of closest friendship, and through him had become acquainted with the writings of Luther." [41]

Commander Schmidt delivered a discourse, in which he undertook to demonstrate that all our actions should be founded upon God's Word and the pure gospel. These teach us to know Christ as the one mediator, he declared, to whom all honor is due. If, then, we have recourse to the saints, and honor them instead of the living Christ, we are certainly guilty of idolatry. [42]

It is this false belief in the saints which must first of all be removed, if possible, through the preaching of the divine word. The removal of this belief must precede the abrogation of visible images, which are of less consequence. "We should not," remarked this judicious speaker, "snatch from the grasp of the weak the staff upon which he is leaning without giving him a substitute for it, otherwise we should fell him to the earth. Granting that it is a wavering reed upon which he is reposing, suffer him to retain it in his hand, and show him at the same time a strong staff; he will then of his own accord let the

[40] Hagenbach, p. 298. Text of Hetzer's Booklet on the disputation. Zwingli's Sämtliche Werke, Edition of Finsler, Egli and Köhler, 1904-1908, Vol. II, pp. 666-803. This will be referred to hereafter as Z. S. W.

[41] Hagenbach, p. 298.

[42] Hagenbach, p. 298.

reed drop, and will stretch out his hand for the strong staff. Thus let the timorous and the weak keep the images to which they cling, and inform them that there is no life, holiness or grace in them. Then let a strong staff be exhibited,—Jesus Christ, the one Comforter and Helper of all troubled ones,—and they will themselves find that they no longer need the images, and will gladly let them go and lay hold on Christ. He who has Christ's true image in his heart cannot be harmed by an external image, even if he be still dependent upon it. The apostle Paul himself let the images of the Athenians alone, and taught simply that there was no grace or divinity in them." [43]

Schmidt expressed similar sentiments in regard to the custom of fasting. This was also a case in which we should refrain from giving offense to a weak brother. Here also, he appealed to the example of the apostle, who said that he would rather eat no flesh all his life than offend his brother. Only in matters essential to faith should we dread no offense.

Excellent and well meant as these exhortations were, they did not meet with universal approval, and Zwingli himself was dissatisfied with them. It is always difficult to decide, at epochs of importance, how far the system of moderation is advisable, and to what extent that which commends itself to the unprejudiced intellect in times of tranquillity may be employed when minds are heated and already distracted in the direction of other extremes. The intentions of the commander were certainly the best and sincerest in the world, and yet we are grateful to Zwingli and Sebastian Hofmeister [44] because they did not support completely the milder sentiments of their friend, especially

[43] Quoted by Hagenbach, p. 287. For original see Z. S. W., II., 666-802.

[44] Dr. Sebastian Wagner, surnamed Hofmeister (Oeconomus), was born at Schaffhausen in 1476. He studied at Paris, taught theology in the Franciscan monastery at Zurich, then at Constance. He adopted the Reformation, and, returning to his native town, became its reformer. (Lindsay, ii, 43). He was later banished from Schaffhausen as an Anabaptist.

at this decisive moment. Hofmeister interrupted the commander by remarking that he confined himself too much to generalities, and thus evaded the matter which at present claimed their attention; and Zwingli made the following statement: "The assertion of my lord and brother the commander, to the effect that every one should first receive instruction through the divine word has my entire approval, and I hope that Leo (Jud) and I have not been negligent in imparting such instruction; but God forbid that we should call images, staves or sticks for the timid and feeble. Had the useless priests and bishops preached the Word of God commended to them as earnestly as they have run after useless things, matters would never have come to such a pass that the poor laymen must learn to know Christ from the wall and from pictures." [45]

Zwingli would not allow that the example of Paul among the Athenians (cited also by Luther against the prophets of Zwickau) was applicable here. The Athenians, he affirmed, were heathen who knew no better, but it was a different thing in the case of the Christians. It was the duty of such to know better, and abuses among them were therefore the less tolerable. Moreover, if the abolition of unprofitable customs were to be deferred until the offences should cease, such customs would never be abolished. Nor do we ever, he continued, attain to such internal goodness that victory over all external evil follows thence as a matter of course. We should therefore give ear to a clear declaration of Scripture, which tolerates no images—least of all those of gold and silver, whose value puts them beyond the reach of the poor. [46]

The commander professed himself satisfied with this reasoning.

A similar discussion was carried on with regard to

[45] Quoted by Hagenbach, p. 299. See "Acta oder Geschicht" in Z. S. W., II. 666-802.

[46] Hagenbach, p. 300.

the mass. Zwingli called the disputation relative to images a "childish affair" in comparison to that relating to the mass, which he regarded as a "dispute of prime importance." In the latter discussion, as well as in the former, various modifications appeared in the views of different members of the Reformed party. Commander Schmidt could not rest satisfied with that view which regards the Lord's Supper as a mere memorial feast. He looked upon the consecrated elements not as simple memorial signs, but as seals and tokens of the grace of God, and he held that in partaking of those elements we receive something from God rather than render aught to him. On this very account he could not regard the mass as a sacrifice. He claimed, however, that care should be taken not to enter upon too general a subversion of established usages before the people had been instructed. Some had spoken too harshly in declaring that the mass was of the devil. [47]

"We who dwell in the country," he continued, "must frequently hear grosser expressions than come to the ears of you who reside in the city." Zwingli himself confessed that some rather harsh utterances of his own might have led to gross exaggerations, which he much regretted. There were many, he said, who caught up only the severe expressions in his sermons. In this respect his experience was like that of Luther, for numbers, he declared, "learn nothing from the books of that well-instructed man save the sharpness of his words; few make account of his pious, faithful heart, with its love for truth and for God's word." [48]

Pastor Steinlin of Schaffhausen defended the doctrine of the sacrificial nature of the Lord's Supper, appealing to the Old Testament in support of his opinion. [49]

Zwingli, however, discovered nothing in this pre-

[47] Hagenbach, p. 300.
[48] Quoted by Hagenbach, p. 301, from "Acta oder geschicht."
[49] Genesis XIV. 18-20. "And Melchizedek....brought forth bread and wine:.. he was priest of God Most High."

sentation of food to Adam and his train other than would be implied "if our faithful brethren of this Confederacy were to come hither, and we were to set wine and bread before them in token of our friendship." Here also the violent party were for pressing impetuously forward. Grebel wished for the immediate abolition of the mass. Zwingli was in favor of leaving the matter in the hands of the magistracy. [50]

* * * *

Subordinate questions of more or less importance were also discussed. Dr. Baltasar Hübmeier demanded that, instead of the Latin reading of the mass, the vernacular should be employed in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, since Christ certainly did not converse with his disciples in a foriegn tongue at the institution of the sacrament. In this demand Zwingli concurred. [51]

On the other hand, Zwingli regarded some things as of little consequence, upon which Grebel and his sympathizers laid too great stress. Some, for instance, were desirous of substituting ordinary (leavened) bread for the unleavened wafer. The unleavened bread was retained. Furthermore, Grebel declared that it was an abomination to mingle the sacramental wine with water, after the Romish custom. He also objected to placing the bread in the mouth of the communicant, and desired that it should be put in the hand of each one, for "we (the laity) are as much entitled to touch the body of Christ as are the priests." The self-communion of priests was also discussed. [52]

Touching the principal subject of the day, it was agreed that a stop should be put to the most evil of abuses, the traffic in masses.

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[50] Hagenbach, 303.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.

After having moved that nothing should be done too hastily, the excellent commander Schmidt turned to those members of the City Council who were present, with the following words: "You, gentlemen, have heretofore helped many a worldly prince to the possession of his domain for the sake of money. Now, for God's sake, help Christ, our lord, to regain possession of his dominions, that he alone may be worshipped, honored, and invoked throughout your jurisdictions, that he alone may rule in us Christians, and that he may be esteemed by your people as the one true mediator, redeemer, and savior, to fulfill which offices his Father gave him. Charge yourselves with this cause as brave and Christian men. If Christ were suffered to be the only lord and master over all things, and quietly to complete his work in us, we should enjoy brotherly tranquillity, Christian peace, and the divine favor and grace here in time, and in the world to come everlasting life. May God give the same to you and all Christians! Amen," [53]

Vadianus, as presiding officer, asked if any one else in the assembly desired to speak. Zwingli then rose again and said: "Gracious lords, and all of you, dear brethren, I beseech you earnestly to hold fast to the Word of God. The Lord will not forsake him who thus acts. I have heard with pain that it was reported here and there last evening that we were proposing to put the body and blood of Christ into sleeping cups. Surely no one could entertain such a thought as this!" [54]

The idea of being misunderstood was so painful to Zwingli that he could not refrain from tears, and his friend Leo Jud was obliged to come to his aid. The latter made the following remarks: "If God will, we will all of us abide by the gospel, and gladly will I lay down my life for it if there be need. They may kill the body, but they

[53] Quoted by Hagenbach, p. 303, from "Acta oder geschicht."
[54] Quoted by Hagenbach, from "Acta oder geschicht."

cannot kill the soul. But let us never use the Scriptures for strife or vainglory, but for the amendment of our lives. And if I have spoken harshly to anyone in the course of this discussion, I beg that I may be pardoned for so doing." Zwingli also begged once more that his "clumsy words" might be forgiven. [55]

The presidents then resigned their offices, and Vadianus expressed the hope that the Government would find ways and means to maintain the Word of God without giving offense to the weak. Röust, the aged burgomaster, who had stood at the head of affairs for eighteen years, promised that this should be done. "I myself," he modestly declared, "pass sentence upon spirtual things as a blind man judges of colors. Such being the case, however, we must seek for counsel in the Word of God. Do all of you pray with me that his grace may be with us." [56]

Under the influence of this exalted state of feeling, the men who had been arrested for the commission of the above-mentioned excesses were recommended to the mercy of the Council, the disputants cordially shook hands and separated in peace. Few disscussions have had so edifying and satisfactory an issue as this second disputation at Zurich in October, 1523.

The results of the first day of the disputation were as follows: The Church images are forbidden by God and by Holy Scripture, and therefore Christians should neither make, set up, nor reverence them, but they should be removed. [57] It was resolved, therefore, to remove them whenever this could be done without disturbance or wounding tender consciences.

Those in prison for the offense of removing images were recommended to mercy, and the burgomaster promised to spare them. [58]

[55] Quoted by Hagenbach.
[56] Quoted by Hagenbach, 303 ff.
[57] Bullinger, I. 131.
[58] Bullinger, I. 132-133.

The results of the second day were that—the mass is no sacrifice, and hitherto has been celebrated with many abuses, quite different from its original institution by Christ. [59] The debates during this second day were quite lively. Zwingli shrewdly avoided a plain statement as to the exact nature of the elements, for the time had not yet come for him to make his radical stand, but he showed wherein a representation differed from a repetition of Christ's sacrifice. He confessed that transubstantiation and its defenders, especially the monks, had too frequently been attacked by abuse rather than by argument, but stoutly declared that the monks were hypocrites, and monasticism was of the devil! [60]

On the third and last day of the disputation the discussion began at noon and no decision was reached except to let the City Council handle all these matters.

During the course of the discussion Hetzer was naturally busy taking notes—but at one time he addressed Dr. Sebastian Hofmeister, one of the leaders, in the following words: "Doctor! Images in the home are also forbidden. We have a clear passage in the Scriptures to this effect. (Deut. 27:14 f). Moses commanded this through the Spirit of God: The Levites shall announce and say to all the men of Israel with a loud voice: Cursed be the man that maketh a graven image (that is an abomination unto the Lord God) and setteth it up in secret. And all the people shall say, Amen." [61]

[59] Jackson, 204.
[60] Jackson, 205.
[61] "Acta oder geschicht". Zwingli's Works, (Z. S. W.) II., p. 692.

Chapter VI.

The Preface of the Report of the Second Zurich Disputation.

Immediately following the completion of the Second Disputation Hetzer set out with the aid of George Binder to write an accurate account of all that was said at this three day debate. After a careful official examination by the clerical and lay representatives, it was printed on the 8th of December, 1523, and officially sent to the various cantons of the Confederacy and to the several bishops interested. The title-page bore this quaint legend: "Acts or history as to what went on [62] at the disputation concerning images and the mass of the 26th, 27th and 28th days of October in the Christian city of Zurich before an honorably assembled great and small council together with more than 500 clergymen and many other worthy people. A. D. 1523. O God release the captives! Printed in the Christian city of Zurich by Christopher Froschauer." "Acta oder geschicht wie es vff dem gesprech d' 26. 27. vnnd 28. tagen Wynmonadts in der Christenlichen Statt Zürich vor eim Ersame gsessnen grossen vn kleine Radt—ouch in by sin mer dan: 500 priesteren—vnd vil anderer biderber lüten—ergangen ist: An betreffend die götze vnd die mess. Anno M. D. XXIII. jar. O Got erlöss die gfangnen. Getruckt in der Christenlichen statt Zürich durch Christophoru Froschouer."

Hetzer dedicated his book "To all faithful and elect brothers and sisters in Christ Jesus. Ludwig Hetzer wishes the deliverance of their consciences and their understanding of God through Jesus Christ." [63]

The interesting but somewhat rambling preface [64]

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[62] Literally: how it went on.
[63] Allen getrüwen und usserwelten brüdern und schwöstern in Christo Jhesu wünseht Ludwig Hetzer erlösung irer conscientzen und erkantnus gottes durch Jesum Christum.
[64] Hetzer's Preface is to be found in Z. S. W., Vol. II., pp. 699-707.

to this book, composed by Hetzer, here follows:
"Dear faithful brothers and sisters: The excellent prophet Isaiah (Isaiah 40:8) says to us through the inspiration of God our Father: The word of our God shall stand forever. And David also says: (Psalms 119:89) O Lord! Thy word shall stand forever. Heaven and earth shall vanish, but the Word of God is immortal." This, devout Christians, the Lord Christ shows to us daily, not only with his word but also with deed, in order that, beholding clearly the gracious will of God our Spouse we may increase from day to day . . . . . In how short a time he has consumed the Anti-Christ, as Paul said, (2 Thessalonians 2:8) by the spirit of his mouth. Although much is yet to happen and remains to be done in the way of reform—still a beginning was made in the Christian city of Zurich on the 26th, 27th and 28th days of October. The Word of God was used, as Christ commanded. For the Scripture is the true touch-stone—the real gold-stone—by which every man may recognize truth from falsity. It is the true measure and mean by which all inequalities are levelled and made straight.

Dispute and discord may be settled if the Word of God is taken as a standard without regard to the commands of bishop or pope, prince or lord. "Why is it not fitting for the Christian to act in keeping with the Word of God? Why should not the child keep his Father's commandments?" Yes, it is right for all the baptized in Christ to learn of the will of the Eternal from the good Word. "Reason: Christ says (Luke 11:28) Blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it."

Paul, the beloved servant of Jesus, also commanded his spiritually born son Timothy to give heed to the reading of the Scriptures (I Timothy 4:13) without doubt that he might thereby rectify all disagreements. From all this we may clearly see that we speak falsely, wrongly, yes profanely, when we say: It is not fitting to show God's

Scriptures to everybody.

The devout Christians of Zurich held a discussion or disputation as to whether or not the images or pictures were against the commandments of God; and, likewise, as to whether or not the mass is a sacrifice. Some, moreover, because of their knowledge of the Scriptures, complained of the mass as an evil, unnecessary thing which had little in common with the tender body of our Lord and the blood of Christ. Thus the worthy leaders of Zurich, the Small and Great Council, as the 200 are called, who by God's grace revere the gospel, desired to have a knowledge of God's will concerning these things from the Scriptures. Besides their priests, preachers and pastors they invited some of the bishops (but none of them appeared), and also they invited the other members of the Swiss Confederacy, in order that they might employ the double edged sword (that is, the Word of God (Hebrews 4:12)) to end all dispute and discussion.

As secretary of this body, therefore, I was seated, and carefully listened to what each one said and also listened to the answers which were made. I wrote this down, in part in the council-room, and later with care corrected it at my inn. Moreover, something prompted me to question others as to what happened so that I might not do any one any wrong. Therefore, out of Christian and brotherly love, as Christ commanded (Romans 12:10), I removed many invectives so as not to bring about trouble. We are members of the body of Christ (I Corinthians 12:27): thus each shall freely help, aid and consider the needs of others. With the help of our dear brother in Christ, George Binder, who was there also, I have written this report with full particulars as quickly as possible (that you might buy it for as little money as possible) in order that each Christian may see the grand majesty of God's Words, which are so immensely fruitful. Truly the Word of God is the devouring fire, that burns and razes to the ground

the wisdom and the foresight of the worldly-wise. (Deuteronomy 4:24. Jeremiah 23:29. Hebrews 12:29.) Indeed the Word of God is the harp of David, with which the foolish Saul was healed and refreshed. (I Samuel 16:23).

"Hence, devout brothers and sisters in Christ Jesus, I have printed the account of this important disputation for your pleasure, for the betterment of your faith, and for the furthering of Godly works in you all." But before printing it I have read my written copy before the honored and scholarly participants and listened to their suggestions, —and by their worthy and wise counsel have corrected and amended it.

Therefore, beloved brothers and sisters in Christ, note that the Word of God shall stand unconquered. Also, note that images and pictures shall not be allowed and that the mass is not a sacrifice. Pray to God faithfully that he will make known to all men (even to the Jews) that he will take care of us, if we (who believe in his name) ask it of him. (John 15:7; 14:13). Surely he will listen to us,—his children. As he has given to us, Christ, his son, so will he give all things needful with him. (Romans 8:32). He is our Father; hence he will not deny nor refuse the needs of his children. We should, as Christ commanded, unquestioningly follow and believe. We should bravely remain with him. In spite of all menaces no harm shall happen to us, although many conjurers, many trials, great contempt, and dire poverty may spring up and arise and even many shameless, godless words may be said to us . . . . . Likewise, imaginary and false gossip shall not hinder us. It is a trick of the worldly-wise to hate and hinder in the way, the Word of God. They fail. But that only gives us a more courageous heart to overcome such things, since Christ, our saviour, says to us: I have overcome the world. (John 16:33). For as the Enemy of God has done thus to Christ, the green wood, how much more quickly will the fire burn us, the dry wood. (Luke

23:31). If this has happend to the Master, how much more will it happen to the disciple! For the disciple is not over the Master. (Luke 6:40). Christ has given his life [65]; the same will also happen to us; that is the genuine fruit of this tree. But rejoice that Paul says (II Corinthians 5:1): For we know that if the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens: Christ is truth and cannot lie. (John 14:6). God also says (Matthew 16:25): Whoever shall lose his soul or life shall receive eternal life. We shall not remain here long, for here we have no abiding city. (Hebrews 13:14). Therefore, faithful brothers and sisters in Christ, we will pray to Christ (who will not forsake us without granting that we may remain fast and strong in his Word) that he may be manifest to all who sit in darkness. It will come to pass, if we do the good works commanded by God and not those of our own choosing, that others seeing shall glorify our Father who is in heaven. (Matthew 5:16). We shall also endeavor not to profess Christ only with our mouths; for the kingdom of God comes not with words or with speech, but in the abounding power of the Spirit. (I Corinthians 4:20). Moreover if we live in accordance with the Word of God, the Lord will grant us the mighty power to overcome all the evil children of this world. [66] (II Samuel 5:6-9).

At this point, I, a poor sinner, commend myself for your prayers.

"Given at Zurich on the 8th day of December in the fifteen hundred and twenty third year after the birth of Christ, our savior."

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[65] Literally—his neck.
[66] Jebusites.

As one reads through this preface one notes, not without interest, Hetzer's appreciation of the Bible. To the day of his death Hetzer maintained this reverence for the Scriptures. But he saw more clearly than most of the men of his day. Like his friend Hans Denck, Hetzer felt the depth, the wisdom, the majesty and the inspiration of the Bible. But being, with Denck, a translator without peer in his day, he also saw some of the short-comings of the Bible. These two men were gifted with the mystic appreciation of truth wherever it was to be found, and therefore neither of them slavishly exalted the Holy Scriptures. They found, deeply planted within their own hearts, the living Word of God, in comparison with which the written Word of God was meager and artificial. Even at the early date of this preface we can occasionally read between the lines of the beginnings of Hetzer's search for a higher authority than the written Word of God—namely the search for the Voice of God which speaks from within.

At this period in his life Hetzer's theology was quite undeveloped. Except for the stirring dogmas of the Reformation—the teachings which later mark Hetzer as a man apart (as a deep theological thinker) lie still calm and peaceful in his circle of ideas. Christ is still to him the Son, whom God offers to us all and he still speaks respectfully and beautifully of the Holy Spirit, of the blood of Christ, and the holy baptism, and above all, of the Word of God—the Bible.

We are pleased to find him very much satisfied with the results obtained at the debates at Zurich. He praised the pious Christians of Zurich, who by the grace of God appreciated the gospel, who knew enough to establish it as the standard in their discussions, and thus were able, with the help of the Word of God, to conquer in the three days debate against idols and the sacrifice of the mass. [67]

[67] Keim.

But he is often confused in speaking of Christ. He speaks of Christ as the Father quite as innocently as he speaks of him as the Son, the Master or the Lord. [68]

The fundamental lines of his future enthusiasms are here already laid down:- the need of righteous deeds for salvation rather than orthodox beliefs, the invalidity of the Church Fathers, the assurance of spiritual conflict within and the near-at-hand catastrophic return of Christ.

There are many indications of the rupture soon to come. During the debate, Hetzer sided quite obviously with the more radical theologians—Grebel, Manz, Stumpf and Hübmeier—as opposed to the more moderate counsels of Zwingli and Jud. Grebel and Manz were his strong friends, with whom he had much in common.

All these tendencies Hetzer reveals very succinctly in characteristic fashion in his device: "O God, release the captives". These prisoners are not only those who are timid in their consciences, not only those who are bound to the old order of things—but also those of the moderate party who are afraid to give themselves up entirely to the truth. Hetzer designates as his goal their liberation. He is a champion of the free spirit of man. He desires to lead these prisoners "out of the dreary Egypt" into the promised land. To begin the march he stoutly proclaims his task of leading men into radical progress and freedom. Yet it was with a great price that Hetzer bought his own freedom—as we shall see.

[68] For example—in the above Preface, in speaking of Matthew 16:25, Hetzer calls Christ, God.

Chapter VII.

The Effect of the Disputation.

The effect produced by this second disputation may best be observed by quoting a letter of Zwingli to his friend Vadianus [69] who was one of the presiding officers at the disputation. The City Council selected four men from its own ranks and four men from among the citizens of Zurich that they might consult with the Abbot [70] of Cappel [71], the Provost of Embach[72], the Commander of Küssnacht [73] and the chief priests [74] of the three parishes of Zurich, as Zwingli writes, "so as to discover a plan by which to move forward the work of Christ. It was agreed that a brief introduction to the Council's order should be written by me, by means of which those bishops (ruling pastors) who had hitherto either been ignorant of Christ, or had been turned away from him, should be induced to begin to preach him. This was read on November 9th, and pleased the Council and is now being printed. It was also resolved that the abbot of Cappel should preach Christ under the authority of the city across the Albis (i. e. around Cappel), the commander (or head of the monastery) at Küssnacht around the lake (of Zurich) and in the province of Grueningen [75], and I in those provinces which look towards Schaffhausen and Thurgau [76]

[69] Joachim de Watt (Vadianus) or Joachim of St. Gall, a native of St. Gallen (b. Dec. 30, 1484); was a distinguished scholar, author and theologian. He became successively physician, member of the council, and burgomaster in his native town, and did much to establish the Reformation.

[70] Wolfgang Joner, the friend of Hetzer. He is also called Rupli von Frauenfeld. He was made Abbot of the Cistercian Monastery at Cappel in the Canton of Zurich, November 19, 1519. He fell with Zwingli, October 11, 1531, at the battle of Cappel.

[71] A town eleven miles south of Zurich.

[72] Ten miles north of Zurich.

[73] Five miles south of the city on the lake of Zurich.

[74] Zwingli, Engelhard and Jud.

[75] Twelve miles south-east and about four miles back of the east bank of the lake.

[76] The cantons to the east and north of Zurich.

so that the sheep of Christ might not by anyone's negligence be deprived of hearing the word of salvation. They will shortly determine what will be done about the images, as soon as the people have been instructed: and the same with regard to the mass. In the meantime we are to go on in our wonted manner, except that it is permitted to any to remove their private images, as long as no one is injured. The prisoners are to be treated according to the highest law—what that means you do not need to be told [77] But this is reasonable, for it does not escape you what sort of men we have to fear at this time, not so much for the thing itself as for the glory of Christ. For there are those who revolt against the gospel of Christ unless you yield a little to their infirmities. For the sake of these I think that Lawrence Hochrütiner (a leader in the cross breaking expedition) has been treated a little too firmly, not to say harshly: a good man, by Hercules, but punished very severly because he has said too much. So he is compelled to go away from here, and does not find any place in the whole world except your city where he can settle . . . Whatever service you do him you will do to Zwingli." [78]

The Brief Introduction to which Zwingli alluded in the foregoing letter bore the title, "A short Christian introduction which the honorable Council of the city of Zurich has sent to the pastors and preachers living in its cities, lands, and wherever its authority extends, so they may in unison henceforth announce and preach the true Gospel to their dependents." [79]. This was hastily prepared by Zwingli in a fortnight, read before the City Council on the 9th of November and printed on November 17, 1523. In his introduction to this hastily written book Zwingli speaks of images as follows: "It is clear that the images

[77] The ringleaders and the pastor at Hongg, three miles north-east of Zurich, whose sermon had incited the iconoclasts, were banished.

[78] Z. S. W., VIII., 129-131.

[79] Z. S. W., II., 628-663.

and other representations which we have in the houses of worship have caused the risk of idolatry. Therefore they should not be allowed to remain there, nor in your chambers, nor in the market-place, nor anywhere else where one does them honor. Chiefly they are not to be tolerated in the churches, for all that is in them should be worthy of our respect. If anyone desires to put historical representations on the outside of the churches, they may be allowed, so long as they do not incite to their worship. But when we begin to bow before these images and to worship them, then they are not to be tolerated anywhere in the wide world; for that is the beginning of idolatry, nay, is idolatry itself." [80]

There was also a closing sentence on the mass which in effect denied that the mass is a sacrifice.

During all this time Hetzer was in friendly intercourse with the chief men of Zurich, with Zwingli and Leo Jud and their families, and with the Zurich teacher George Binder, the future successor of Myconius at the Carolingian school at Zurich, who aided him with his notes on the debates, as we have seen. He was very closely drawn to Wilhelm von Zell; the "pal" of Zwingli, who remained until Hetzer's death his firm friend [81]. During the course of the debates, all of the notable persons sought out Hetzer and his services were very much appreciated by all. Especially firm and lasting was his friendship with the influential Wolfgang Joner, the chaplain of Cappel. This friendship was either begun or strengthened at this time and it lasted as long as he lived.

Almost immediately after the disputation Hetzer with others started to press forward the work of the Reformation in the country round about Zurich. The mixed committee of councilors and clergymen, as we have seen, had

[80] Z. S. W., II., 628-663.
[81] Letter of Hetzer to Zwingli, September 1525 Z. S. W., VIII., 360-364. Dedication of Blaurer's Description of Hetzer's Death.

ordered Zwingli to write his brief introduction which was sent out to instruct the ignorant and unprogressive clergy of the country districts of the canton. This taught Zwingli's idea of the true Christian doctrine as regards images and the mass. At the same time the mixed committee sent three of its members, notably the Abbot of Cappel, the Commander of Küssnacht and Zwingli to preach and encourage the beginnings of the Reformation. To the Abbot of Cappel, the protector and friend of Hetzer, was detailed as his share of the work the evangelization of the country on the other side of Albis where Cappel itself is situated [82]. The abbot of Cappel, furthermore, employed Hetzer, who was still chaplain at Wadenschwyl [83] nearby. Hetzer with the abbot and others, therefore, went up and down the countryside visiting the priests and clergy, teaching them the new points of view, and preaching in all the churches of the canton. The effect of Hetzer's pamphlet on the images, of the second disputation, of his report, of Zwingli's "Brief Introduction", of the visit of the delegates to the countryside was that the priests everywhere in the canton declined to read mass and the presence of images in the churchs was more and more considered an offense.

There was, however, a great party which honestly deplored the departures from the old order, and Zwingli himslf advised deliberation [84].

The division in the chapter of the Great Minster as to the mass led to the reference of the matter to the Council

[82] Zwingli to Vadianus, letter of November 11, 1523. Quoted in English above. Zwingli's Letters, I., 313 ff. "additum est, ut Abbas Capellae trans Alpes (Albis) per ditionem urbis Christum praedicet, ubicunque visum erit.
[83] Hetzer must have come early to Zurich as a priest. There is no sure proof of this however. During the disputation Hetzer was lodged at an inn at Zurich, and his strife at that time with the pastor of Maschwanden was caused by the fact that he continued to keep his place at Wadenschwyl at the upper end of the lake. That he dedicated his preface to the people of Zurich at Zurich (December 8, 1523) proves nothing. (Keim, 229).
[84] Jackson, p. 209.

on December 10, 1523, and the Council in turn referred it to the people's priests. Zwingli wrote the "opinion" entirely on the side of the proposed changes, and plainly announced that on the coming Christmas day, December 25, 1523, the Lord's Supper would be administered under both forms, and daily thereafter there would be a brief Bible exposition in place of the daily mass. The Council, however, decided to allow both the old and new forms of the Eucharist in the city, and practically only the old elsewhere in the canton, and to postpone any revised liturgy [85]. On December 19, 1523, the Council replied directly to the chapter of the Great Minster, inviting them and all the city clergy to a disputation upon the matter in dispute in the Town Hall on Holy Innocent's day, Monday, December 28, 1523, before the city magistracy; and meanwhile the Council ordered that the folding doors which covered certain pictures in the minster should be closed and kept closed, and that no church banners, crucifixes or pictures should be carried about.

Thus was brought about the beginning of the Reformation at Zurich—in which as we have seen—an honorable and very important part was played by Ludwig Hetzer.

[85] Zwingli's Works, I., 566-568.

Chapter VIII.

The Strife with the Pastor Conrad of Maschwanden.

A few weeks previous to the second disputation Ludwig Hetzer "publicly silenced" the old priest of the village of Maschwanden. This village is situated on the southern frontier of the domain of Zurich. The old pastor, Conrad of Maschwanden, was one of the "old believers" and strongly opposed to the evangelical reforms. A dispute ensued between the two pastors which grew so hot that it was necessary to take it before the three people's priests at Zurich (Zwingli, Englehard and Jud). Finally, however, on October 22, 1523, Hetzer and Conrad were summoned before the City Council. What may have been the basis of the quarrel is not known except that Conrad stood by the old order of things while Hetzer preached the new gospel. It has been suggested that Conrad first attacked Hetzer because the latter retained his chaplaincy at Wadenschwyl while living much of the time at an inn in Zurich. We have no means of knowing how matters started. The trial, however, proceeded in this wise: in accordance with the mandate concerning the proclamation of the gospel [86], Hetzer was doing his duty in spreading the new ideas when the quarrel started. On the contrary, Conrad had repeatedly opposed the preaching of the new gospel, and, further, he had openly preached the old doctrines which he could not justify by the Scriptures. On the 22nd of October, 1523, the case was impartially tried before the City Council at Zurich and Hetzer was declared acquitted while the pastor Conrad was admonished severely because of his repugnance to the decree of the authorities. Both were obliged to pay their part of the costs, and the pastor Conrad was ordered to observe strictly

[86] See page 22 above. Proclamation of January 29, 1523.

the City Council's decree in regard to preaching the gospel [87].

In connection with this trial one of the citizens of Zurich, Adam Sprüngli, was brought before the City Council. He seems to have been dissatisfied that the new gospel was not being more strenuously preached and that more stringent reforms were not forthcoming. "What do our Burgers wish to do?" he said. "There are not more than fourteen members of the Council who side with this thing. A year ago we passed a decree that the priests everywhere should preach nothing else than what they can prove by the gospel, and whoever does not do this shall be brought before the Burgers and punished [88]."

On returning to his parish the old priest Conrad revenged himself in his pulpit. Here he was guilty of "sundry, diverse coarse words to the dishonor and disdain of my Lords and other people." Moreover, he declared in a public sermon these following words: "that they should have protected a young rogue (Bub) rather than a pious priest seemed to him an act of violence against God, honor and justice." By the knave (Bub) he meant Mr. Ludwig Hetzer and he added, "he who is really a scoundrel and a

[87] Egli: Actensammlung zur geschichte der Zürcher reformation, p. 172; No. 433. Sammlung einiger Erkenntnisse des Rathes zu Zürich, etc., in Johann Conrad Füssli's: Beiträgen zur Erlaut. der K. Ref.—Gesch. des Schweitzerlands, II., 32 f. Keim, 230.

[88] Another witness remarked that Sprüngli, without giving the number, had declared in the guild hall that some of the members of the Small Council were not evangelical, while Jacob Günthart had heard said that Sprüngli had asserted that "There were not over 14 in the Small Council who were religious." (i e. Evangelical). Ulrich Schwab, another citizen, testified to the same thing while Mr. Peter Meier said that Adam Sprüngli, in referring to the struggle between Ludwig Hetzer and Conrad of Maschwanden, had said "My lord councilors and burgers have directed and ordered that the gospel shall be preached everywhere in the city, and that any priest who does not conform to this order shall be punished; and my Lords of the Small Council have undertaken and treated of this thing, but they have neither power nor force to deal with it. . . . . There are among them some 12 or 14 who stand by the gospel, and the others do not." Furthermore, Master Hans Han reported that Sprüngli had threatened: "that the next time the Council and Burgers assemble he will say it before all of my Lords."

Egli: Actensammlung, pp. 172-173; No. 434.

knave will remain so all his life. Furthermore, these gentlemen of Zurich have been considered the highest and wisest members of the Swiss Confederacy." To Conrad it seemed that they were not so, and he hoped for something better, namely that they would soon be of another opinion.

During the presence of the Abbot of Cappel in a neighboring town, Mettmastetten, Conrad aided the pastor of that place, who had similar ideas to his own. Conrad publicly spoke in this community in the attempt to enlist the people to re-establish the old vows and customs. He demanded of the people, "Why do my Lords' Ambassadors (Cappel and Hetzer) preach against the old customs with hate?" Naturally this led to another clash between Hetzer and Conrad. The abbot of Cappel immediately took up the defense of Hetzer and he collected witnesses concerning the matter. In the meantime Conrad was thrown in prison to await trial.

This trial occurred on March 21, 1524, and the Great and Small Councils decided on the guilt of the pastor Conrad and spoke very eloquently for Hetzer.

At the trial two questions were put to Conrad. First, he was asked whether he had publicly declared that my Lords (the magistrates of Zurich) had acted against him without justice and honor. He said he knew nothing of this. But when sworn witnesses were brought before the court declaring that he had made these derogatory remarks against the magistrates he declared that "he well recognized that he had done great injury and injustice to my Lords with such words."

Likewise in reply to the second question as to whether he had spoken in the community of Mettmastetten he admitted that he had spoken in defense of the old customs.

After the trial it was decided that the pastor Conrad was not to be allowed to go free until he had paid all the costs at Zurich and in the country. Furthermore he was obliged to take back his criticism of the magistrates of

Zurich and of Ludwig Hetzer. He must rid himself of the idea that they had done him an injustice and he was obliged to declare that he knew nothing evil of them but that they were all "honorable, holy, loving and good." [89]

At Conrad's request three weeks delay was given him to arrange his business and to find the money to pay his debts, with the addition, however, that he must dwell in the territory of Zurich and nowhere else in the Confederacy. Moreover, in the taverns and elsewhere he was to be circumspect in his speech on pain of stronger punishment. He gave an oath to the magistrates that he would pay his costs at the trial and he also took oath not to disturb the peace.

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It is supposed that after these proceedings the imprudence of Hetzer cost him his situation, but it is not improbable that his enraged enemy, the pastor of Maschwanden, drew Hetzer after him into misfortune. [90]

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The fact is, however, that the pastor of Maschwanden did not accept the condemnation of the Council of Zurich. In order to get out of prison, to be sure, he took oath to pay the costs of his trial, as noted above. But no sooner was he free than he left the territory of Zurich without paying his debts. At the same time he sought aid at Lucerne where the Confederates had assembled. This aid was speedily given him. On March 21, 1524, there had already arrived from Lucerne a complaint against the evangelical reform at Zurich. On April 6, 1524 the members of the Swiss Confederacy assembled at Lucerne complained of the trial and sentence of the pastor Conrad of Maschwanden, and they expressed to the magistrates of Zurich "the hope that they will cease and not torment my

[89] Egli, op. cit. and Füssli, 53 ff.
[90] Keim, 231.

Lords (of the Confederacy) any more." [91] This reply proves at all events that Conrad's demands were regarded as serious to the Confederates at Lucerne, and it shows with what preponderance the "old believers" (that is—those pitted against the Reformation) in many places still opposed the attacks of isolated Zurich.

Thus, even though all these combats and trials had ended each time to the advantage of Hetzer, we must suppose that finally, under the pressure of the Confederates, Hetzer lost his chaplaincy.[92]

[91] "in der hoffnung, si lassent es dabi bliben und strengint mine Herren sinthalb witer nit an."
[92] Egli: Actensammlung, p. 225.

Chapter IX.

The Two Translations of 1524.

The dispute with the pastor Conrad of Maschwanden marks the end of the prosperous days of Hetzer at Zurich. Soon he is found as an almost forgotten writer, and a little later he left Zurich discontented and impatient. On this changing order of things obscurity reigns. But that he had some position during these last days in Zurich is not difficult to prove. The City Council would not have spoken of him so enthusiastically on March 21, 1524, if he had not held some suitable situation.

During the Fall and Winter of 1523, Hetzer translated two books which he had printed in 1524. The first of these was his translation "Letters of Rabbi Samuel to the Israelites, wherein is demonstrated the vain expectation of the Jews of a future Messiah". "Sandbrief Rabbi Samuelis des Israeliten etc., worin das vergebliche Warten der Juden auf einen künftigen Messias bewiesen wurde." This was printed in Augsburg by Ottmar, January 2, 1524. In this booklet he tried to disuade the Jews from their useless wait for the Messiah, who for them was indispensable for the restoration of their kingdom of God.

The second book was "A short, well-founded Commentary of the ten following Epistles of Saint Paul, first written in Latin by Johann Bugenhagen of Pomerania, Bishop of Wittenberg, translated into German by Ludwig Hetzer", being a commentary on Paul's letters to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, Philemon and Hebrews. "Ain kurze, wolgegründte Ausslegung uber die Zehen (nachgeenden) Episteln S. Pauli, Erstlich im Latein durch Joannen Bugenhag auss Pomern, Bischoff zu Wittemberg, beschriben, verteütscht durch Ludwig Hetzer." This brochure was dedi-

cated to "Andrew Rem, citizen of Augsburg", his dear and faithful friend.

Hetzer, as usual, added a short preface, "given at Zurich on the 29th day of June, 1524". It took the form of a vary large brochure and it is important as marking the place, that of translator, which Hetzer chose more and more. [93]

Here, on the one hand, Hetzer gives thanks for the spiritual benedictions of diverse kinds which the Father in Heaven has so abundantly showered upon us and with which he has so richly dowered us. He has done this through the spreading of his Holy Word, (the only consolation of sinners) by means of the letters of Paul which bring relief to all the maladies and poisons of the conscience. "My brother, how could the real Joseph not conceal his true love towards us, his poor brothers? Just so our God does not let us pass through this dreary Egypt without the refreshment of a cool, fresh drink of water!" [94]

On the other hand, Hetzer spoke in a very caustic manner against the timid interpreters of the Word of God. who are found everywhere. Our judgment is very good and we are very learned. and yet at the same time we are too timid, too fearful—as if the Heavens were liable to fall on us, and as if God were not the same yesterday, today, forever. "Cursed be he who does not let his sword strike the skin, as I notice many do who preach not Christ

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[93] Keim, 232. Johann Bugenhagen (b. 1485) had belonged to the Order of the Praemonstratenses. He was a learned theologian who had been displeased by Luthers struggle against Indulgences. He got hold of Luther's "The Babylonian Captivity of the Christian Church", and studied it meaning to refute it. The study so changed his own views, however, that he felt that "the whole world may be wrong, but Luther is right". He became at once a fervant Lutheran, succeeded in winning over his prior and most of his companions to his new views and became the Reformer of Pomerania. (Lindsay, ii, 306). He was pastor at Wittenberg, 1522, and in 1536 he was made General Superintendent there.

[94] "Mein Bruder, wie mag doch der recht Joseph sein ernstliche Liebe gegen uns, seinen verarmten Brüdern, nicht verbergen? wie lasst uns doch unser Gott so gar nit durch das schwer Egiptum ziehn ohn' Erquicknung eines kühlen, frischen Trunks Wasser!"

but themselves; who do violence and wrong to the Holy Scriptures, and with whom we can easily see where the shoe pinches." [95]

It is plain to see at whom Hetzer is aiming. With his thoroughgoing radical ideas on the subject of the Reformation he finds Zwingli's caution and prudence abhorrent to him. By April or May 1524, Zurich was too small for them both and since Zwingli was strongly intrenched it was necessary for Hetzer to leave. In great passion, in the dark threatening tones of the Old Testament, Hetzer declares he will put himself at the head of a "remnant" [96] which will fight against evangelical lukewarmness as against the world enemies of the gospel. "It must be fought out." There will not be any lack of opponents who attack God in his wise decrees—and blocking the way of men at the entrance of the promised kingdom,—cause them to be backward and slow.

Now and always the good falls to the few. Thus Christ in all his splendor (our dear Lord and brother whose felicity is unique) walks in anxiety and need. Ought we to be better off than Christ and the apostles? The world is the Devil's kingdom of darkness—which he does not honor—as we may easily see with our eyes —but he strains every muscle to goad on and hunt down the Word of God and the bleeding Christ. [97] But God (without whom men are under the orders of their Master and Captain, the Devil)—God who doesn't allow mockery, throws to earth all their counsels; and he will make a comedy of them before all the world. Christ, the foolscap of the godless, will make fools of them and laugh at their destruction! God, the strong old God of Israel,

[95] Verflucht, wer sein Schwert nit auf die Haut lasst gehen, wie ich besorg Viele thun, die nit Christum, sondern sich selbst predigen, die den heiligen Schrift Gewalt und Unrecht thun und bei denen wir wohl sehen könen, wo sie der Schuh drückt.

[96] kleinen Haufleins — little heap — remnant. "Es muss erfochten seyn."

[97] Keim, p. 233.

who has raised up this commerce, will undo it also. Fear not, thou little remnant: if God is with thee—who can be against thee? God will crush the teeth in their own mouths of all those who strive against him, and they shall pass away as swiftly as a brook of bloody water becomes clear. He will draw his bow and they will perish. They shall disappear as a soft wax.

The spirit is the true organ of God by which he should be praised, and not by external organs (such as images and the mass) which are a shame to God and do not do him honor. In the lamentations of the chants of the mass God is neither praised nor offended. But we ought to listen to him in our souls and to praise God spiritually. [98]

Most significant are the last words by Hetzer: O God, my Father, grant us fearless prophets: who preach with confidence thy one eternal Word (without the addition of their doctrine) in order that we shall love our Father, and other men as brothers and sisters, from the bottom of our hearts, yes, out of a pure heart. Open my mouth; so shall I speak thy truth unflinchingly. Amen. O God release the captives. [99]

* * * *

Having thus spoken his mind openly we are not surprised to find that Hetzer was about to leave this ungrateful, unprogressive Zurich to travel to foreign lands. To be like Christ, said Hetzer, one must hate the evil and carry his cross.

Zwingli gave Hetzer a letter of recommendation, dated June 16, 1524, for the preacher Johann Frosch, prior of the Carmelite Cloister at Augsburg, in which he

[98] "Ain kurze, wolgegründte Ausslegung, etc."

[99] "O Gott mein Vater, verleih' uns unerschrockene Propheten, die mit Vertrauen dein einig ewig Wort ohn' allen Zusatz ihrer Vernunft predigen, damit wir dich, unser Vater und andere Menschen für unsere Brüder und Schwestern von Grund des Herzens lieben, ja aus reinen Herzen. Thu' meinen Mund auf so werd ich dein' Wahrheit unerschrocken reden. Amen. O. G. E. D. G."

calls Hetzer "a young man well educated in Christianity". Moreover, Hetzer brought detailed oral news of Zwingli and of events at Zurich.

To Johannes Frosch in Augsburg:

"Grace and peace from God, the Father, and his son, our Lord Jesus Christ . . .

"Please receive these lines favorably, as they are; I have just written them in haste and all mixed up as always. But do thou take courage and be strong! Any other news will be told thee in proper sequence by Ludwig Hetzer, a young man very well informed in Christian affairs, whom we also commend to thee.

"Farewell, and may Christ keep thee safe together with our whole community.

"Greet all the brethren!

"Zurich 16 June 1524

"Thine from the heart
Huldrych Zwingli."

* * * *

From all this we deduce that there were doubtless feelings of tension between Hetzer and Zwingli—but at least that they separated on very good and friendly terms. Hetzer's independence, his impatience and opposition to the measured action of Zwingli must surely have been the real cause which led him to quit Zurich.

Chapter X.

Augsburg, 1524

Hetzer's road led him to Augsburg, a wealthy commercial city of Southern Germany, where he found shelter with his rich and influential friend, Andrew Rem. In his preface to the translation of Bugenhagen, Hetzer had added a salutation to the people of Augsburg: "Blessed are all the brothers and sisters of Augsburg." [100] Probably, therefore, he received a good reception there.

He not only found a good reception among the wealthy and influential protectors of the gospel in this fair city, but he surely must also have found a welcome as a writer among the active authors and flourishing publishers,—especially those interested in Biblical translations. Here were to be found, at that time, Dr. Sigmund Grimm, Silvanus Ottmar, Heinrich Steyner, Melchior Ramminger, Hans Schönsperger and Simprecht Rupp. He came among these men full of ideas and plans. For one thing many devout and learned Christians had wished for a translation of Bugenhagen's interpretations of the Psalms of David. This ought to be put into German, thought Hetzer, and he wanted to do it. Indeed, he declared, he had already commenced "to translate a few lines into German," [101] and with a true desire to praise God he hoped in a short while to finish it. But he was destined never to complete this work at Augsburg and later he feared to write "at Zurich" in his preface. This piece of work was not for him. After thinking it over, therefore, the work seemed superfluous to him because several times in the year 1524 translations of the Psalms had appeared.

Through Andrew Rem he experienced no difficulty in finding work at Augsburg. Another friend Urbanus

[100] "selig seyend alle Brüder und Schwestern zu Augspurg."
[101] "etliche Summ' zu verdeutschen."

Rhegius, [102] proved to be even more helpful. Indeed both Rhegius and Hetzer called themselves "clients of Rem".

Augsburg was at that time in the throes of a struggle between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. Neither party had yet won out. To make things worse the Lutherans and the Zwinglians were not content to work together for the Protestant cause, but spent their energies in combating one another. Finally, the moral conditions in the city were most abominable. Hetzer's friend Rhegius declared: "We preachers of the Word are despised, and what wonder when the majority of the people are careless about all works of piety." Indeed the immorality of the people caused no little alarm. "If it goes much further, I am afraid God the Father will be grievously displeased and will visit the town with severe punishment." [103]

There is a possibility that Hetzer took part with Hans Denck in a meeting of radicals which was held at Nuremberg during the summer of this year, 1524. Hans Hut and Leonard Schiemer were there. [104] Doubtless this meeting was one of the very first held in Southern Germany.

On October 15, 1524, Hetzer had printed a short pamphlet: "As to whether the New Testament is now correctly translated into German." ("Ob das neu testament yetz recht verteuscht sey.") being a study as to the relative merits of recent German translations of the New Testament, in which Rhegius had a part. Rhegius, moreover, was enthusiastic about "these clear spiritual flames of

[102] Urbanus Rhegius was born at Langernargen, near Constance, in May, 1489 and he died at Celle, near Hanover, May 27, 1541. He studied at Freiburg where he came in contact with Eck; was at Ingolstadt in 1510 and was ordained a priest at Constance, 1519. Leter he settled at Augsburg.

[103] Roth: Augsburger Reformationsgeschichte, p. 233. Keller: Ein Apostel, pp. 97-98. Coutts: Hans Denck, p. 41.

[104] Hut says so himself. See C. Meyer: Beiträge zur Geschichte d. Wiedertäufer in Schwaben, in Zeitschrift d. hist. Verein f. Schwaben u. Neuburg, 1874, p. 224. Keller: Reform.; p. 423. Mennonit. Blättern, 1885, No. 9.

the Word of God." [105] as we learn from the letter of Zwingli to Johann Frosch concerning Hetzer.

Andrew Rem was able to introduce Hetzer into the most distinguised circles of Augsburg. It was by this means that we find him soon received at the home of the Augsburg patricians George Regel and his wife. They became much interested in the young scholar. Another hospitable patrician home which was opened to Hetzer was that of Luke Gessner.

He was so popular at the former home that he became the companion of Regel and acted as his preacher at his Bavarian domains which were situated near Donauwörth. Here happiness, peace and security lasted but a short time—at most a quarter of a year—before he was set upon by the famous heretic-hunting Duke of Bavaria exactly as three years later this same duke tried to make a prisoner (on the property of the mayor Ulrich Rehlinger) of the Augsburg preacher, Martin Cellarius, whom we shall encounter again at Strasbourg. The activity of the duke caused Hetzer to flee for safety. Thus began his life of wandering and adventure—for, ever afterwards, he was hounded from place to place until his death,—five years later. Regel's castle was taken by assault and Hetzer (whose presence had caused the assault) escaped to Augsburg. All this happened in the Fall of 1524. [106] A disgrace of this sort and the outlook for the moment did not allow him to sojourn any longer at Augsburg. Yet Urbanus Rhegius received him with favorable welcome and honored him with his literary confidences, whereas, on the contrary, George Regel was afraid of pub-

[105] "diese lauteren Geistesflammen des Gottesmannes." Keim, p. 236.

[106] Hetzer to Zwingli, September 14, 1525. From this letter one learns of Hetzer's acquaintance with Regel,—of his trip to Regel's manor-house and his return to Augsburg in the Fall of 1524. It appears according to another letter (Regel to Zwingli, August 7, 1528) that the native land of Regel was Donauwörth with which he always kept up relations. In 1528 Regel aided the banished abbot of Donauwörth by giving him a stipend. Regel appears as an Augsburg patrician; Gasser: Chron. Augs., Menken I., 1755. Keim, p. 236.

licly associating any longer with him,—for fear that he might compromise his Donauwörth domains vis-avis the Duke of Bavaria. Hetzer returned to Switzerland having had enough, for the time being, of the course of affairs in Germany. Thus once again he arrived in Zurich. [107]

[107] Hetzer speaks of his visit to Rhegius in 1524 in the above mentioned letter. Also the same letter speaks of Regel's fear to receive him because of the duke. Keim, p. 237.

Chapter XI.

The Activities of the Anabaptists at Zurich. Hetzer Banished from Zurich because of his Anabaptist Teachings.

The Anabaptists were the religious radicals of the sixteenth century, and the sixteenth century was most unfriendly to any sort of radicalism. And since religious liberty was then a thing unknown, the pages of the history of the sixteenth century reek with the blood of these poor unfortunates.

The Anabaptists of Zurich were those who in 1522 ate flesh in Lent, and they were those who pulled down the statues and the images in the churches during the next year—before public opinion was exactly ripe for such action. [108]

These Anabaptists were very plain people, and, meeting in a private house, at first were unmolested by the authorities. Zwingli, in fact, was often present at their meetings: indeed, they met to discuss his sermons. During the summer of 1522, these radicals were joined by *Felix Manz* [109] and *Conrad Grebel* [110], sons of distinguished citizens. Manz was the son of a canon, an excellent Hebrew scholar, and Zwingli's assistant, and at this time the Anabaptists met at his house. [111] Grebel was the son of Jacob Grebel, one of the city councilors. He was converted by Zwingli from a licentious life, and for a time followed Zwingli's leadership. But convinced that Zwingli was wrong upon the question of baptism and of duty towards the magistrates, he joined the radicals and soon

[108] Jackson: Zwingli, p. 240.

[109] Manz was from a patrician family of Zurich. He studied at Basle, and was an excellent student of Hebrew. Had it not been for his radical tendencies he might have been a professor at the University of Zurich. After many adventures, unhappily, in punishment of his objectionable Anabaptist propaganda, he was *drowned* in the lake of Zurich, January 7, 1527. Egli, 1109.

[110] Grebel, born (1498?) died of the plague at Maienfeld in the Canton of St. Gall in 1526. He studied at Basle, Vienna and Paris and was a professor at the University of Zurich. Zwingli called him his "dear friend" and he passed for a "young noble man".

[111] Bax, p. 8.

became their chosen champion. [112]

Although we lack the exact date, Ludwig Hetzer must have joined the Anabaptists here at Zurich at a very early date—for he is mentioned by such a contemporary authority as Bullinger as *" one of the first Anabaptists of Zurich"*. [113]

The appearance of such men in the ranks of the Anabaptists gave them greatly increased importance. Their membership in the city of Zurich, on September 5, 1524, was only 20; but there were others among the clergy and laity who dwelt outside of the city.

At the second disputation it will be remembered that several of the participants, principally Grebel, Stumpf and Manz, demanded immediate and decisive action,—not only respecting the removal of pictures and images from the churches, but also respecting the administration of the Lord's Supper,—namely, that the ceremony of the original supper as described in the New Testament should be followed,—and they denounced the mass as a creation of the devil. Thus it was that on the third and last day of this disputation that the radical party of Zurich found voice as a distinct entity. [114]

At this time Zwingli had been friendly enough with the radicals. His reply had been in good temper but plainly showed that he could not be counted upon to support their claims and that the breach between them and him had begun. [115]

During the summer of 1524, while Hetzer was away at Augsburg, Zwingli had two secret conferences with the

[112] Jackson, p. 241.

[113] Füssli, pp. 22, 64ff. Hagen, p. 286. After the first baptisms others soon joined. Thus the "Chronicle of the Anabaptists" to be found in the Library at Hamburg declares: "Demnach haben sich baldt andere mer zu inen gethon, als Balthasar huebner von fridberg, Ludwig heczer vnd andere mer, wol geleerte Männer in teitscher lateinischer hebreischer vnd grüschischer sprach, auch der Schrifft wol kundig, vnd sonst predigcanten vnnd andere leüt, die es baldt mit irem bluet bezugt haben."

[114] Acta oder geschicht, etc. Jackson, p. 241.

[115] Jackson, p. 242.

Anabaptists of Zurich. They had by this time come to the conclusion that infant baptism was unscriptural. This is plain from the letter writen jointly by several of them on September 5, 1524, to Thomas Münzer, the German Protestant church innovator, who had already made this assertion, but who inconsistently had not abandoned the practice of infant baptism. In this letter they called infant baptism "a silly, blasphemous outrage, contrary to all scripture". [116]

Furthermore, during the summer of 1524, the pastor of Wyttikon, *Wilhelm Reubli*, [117] had commenced to re-

[116] C. A. Cornelius: Geschichte der Münsterischen Aufruhrs. Leipzig, 1885-1860. 2 volumes. II., 240 ff. This letter continues: "The Gospel and its followers shall not be guarded by the sword, neither shall they so guard themselves, as, by what we hear from the Brethren, ye assume and pretend to be right. Truly believing Christians are sheep in the midst of wolves, sheep ready for the slaughter, they must be baptized in fear and in need, in tribulation and death, that they may be tried to the last, and enter the fatherland of eternal peace, not with carnal, but with spiritual weapons. They use neither the sword of the world nor war,—for to kill is forbidden." Bax, pp. 11-12.

[117] *Wilhelm Reubli* was born at Rothenburg on the Neckar, about the year 1480. He was matriculated at the University of Freiburg in 1507 and at Tübingen August 21, 1509. On July 2, 1510 he was appointed pastor at Greisheim in Schaffhausen. On July 21, 1521 he became people's priest at St. Albans in Basle, having no doubt already alined himself with the opponents of the old order. Friedrich Ryf, the chronicler, said of him: "He preached so well and in such a Christian manner that a great multitude came to hear him. His knowledge of the Bible was phenomenal. The other preachers were jealous of him, but did not dare lay hands upon him because they feared the great numbers of people in the community who adored him." Finally the Bishop of Basle and the City Council made him leave town. He then went to Wyttikon, near Zurich, where he became the preacher. Here in 1523 in place of the saints and banners and relics he had a Bible carried in processions. "See," he said, "this is our relic, this is our true sanctuary, all others are dust and ashes". On April 28, 1522 he married Adelheid Leemann. This was the first priestly wedding within the Swiss borders. Soon after this he began to call in question the authority of the scriptures and the propriety of infant baptism. Banished from Zurich he went to Greisheim and Waldshut. Here at Easter time, 1525, he baptized Hübmeier and about 60 others and shortly after Hübmeier baptized 300 more. We find him later at Strasbourg, Rothenburg, Reutlingen, Ulm, Esslingen, etc., where he was known as "Pastor Wilhelm". He was thrown in prison at Strasbourg, October 25, 1528. Later, having become "miserably sick and lame", he was released (January 1529) and banished with the threat of being drowned if he returned. He went to Moravia where he lived for many years. In 1554, old and infirm he returned again to Basle and begged for permission to reside there. His immediate wants were relieved but he was politely asked to leave. He then returned to Moravia where he was last heard of in 1559.

baptize children and at the same time neglected or refused to baptize infants. When apprehended he was punished by imprisonment and on August 11, 1524 the parents were threatened with punishment if their infant children were not baptized.

From this moment affairs with the Anabaptists began to come to a climax. Infant baptism was more savagely attacked than ever before, and many good people seceded from the Reformed churches to found a new church modeled after the church of the early apostles of Christianity. Furthermore, in spite of repeated warnings, many would not have their children baptized. At first the Council tried to bring the radicals together with the more moderate members of the reform party,—but these reunions proved unfruitful. This was the condition of affairs in the middle of December, 1524. [118] With all his vivacity and energy Hetzer took part in this movement and yet at the same time he continued to visit Zwingli and recount to him his Bavarian adventures. [119]

Hetzer detested infant baptism as a machination of the devil,—even though like his friend Hans Denck he thought more of the inner spiritual life of the soul than of all the sacraments put together. That he acted with ardor against the baptism of children is shown by the stern measures taken against him by the government at Zurich. Moreover, it did not happen by chance that the people of the countryside in the domains of Grüningen, especially at Wadenschwyl, possessed Anabaptist ideas. [120]

Finally, by order of the City Council, a public disputation was held on January 17 and 18, 1525 between the three people's priests (Zwingli, Englehard and Jud)

[118] See Füssli, I., 189 ff. Letter of Grebel to Vadian, December 8, 1524, p. 231. Schuler-Schulthess: Introduction. Zwingli's Writing "Vom touf". Keim p. 238.
[119] Hetzer to Zwingli, September 1525. "evenitante annum, quum, ut scis, in Bavaria eram". Keim, p. 238.
[120] Füssli, III., p. 10. Jackson's translation: "Refutation of Baptist Tricks". p. 146.

and the Anabaptists. The latter were opposed by Zwingli who insisted that infant baptism must be maintained, because it took the place of circumcision and the Council declared that Zwingli's contention was right. [121] In consequence of the "defeat" of the Anabaptists, the Council, on January 18th, passed the following order commanding those who had refused to have their infant children baptized to present them for this purpose within a week on pain of punishment: [122]

"Whereas an error has arisen respecting baptism, as if young children should not be baptized until they come to years of discretion, and know what the faith is; and whereas some have accordingly neglected to have their children baptized, our burgomaster, Council and Great Council—as the Two Hundred of the city of Zurich are called—have held a disputation upon this matter to learn what Holy Scripture has to say about it, and having learned from it that notwithstanding this error the children should be baptized as soon as they are born; so must all those who have hitherto allowed their children to be unbaptized have them baptized inside the next week. Whoever will not do this must with wife and child, goods and chattels, leave our city, jurisdiction, and domain, or await what will be done to him. Each one will accordingly know how to conduct himself."

"Done Wednesday before Sebastian's Day, MDXXV." [123]

On January 21, 1525, the Council forbade the private meetings of the Anabaptists. Conrad Grebel and Felix Manz were ordered to abstain from their "disputings and propositions" and to "fall in with my Lord's opinions". If they wish for any exception in the matter of belief, they may apply to the Burgomaster. "The

[121] Lindsay: History of the Reformation, p. 446.
[122] Jackson: Zwingli, p. 243.
[123] Füssli: Beyträge I., pp. 189-201. Egli: Actensammlung. No. 622.

priest of Wyttikon (*Wilhelm Reubli*), the assistant curate at Zollikon (*Brotli*),[124] *Ludwig Hetzer* and *Andrew* (*Castelberger*) *uf den Stulzen*[125] shall leave the land in eight days" and hereafter such troublesome people must "fester" in some other country.[126]

The Anabaptists were not slow to answer the challenge thus given.[127] Up to this time the Anabaptist had merely protested against infant baptism, but had not ventured upon baptizing adults who had already been baptized in unconscious infancy. Now, however, in the village of Zollikon, on the north shore of the lake of Zurich and six miles from the city, whither persecution had driven them, they proceeded for the first time to take that logical step.[128]

Conrad Grebel seems to have been the leader in this. He rightfully argued from the accepted premise: baptism should follow a confession of faith and that only those who understood what the rite meant should be baptized.

They met, and after deliberation and prayer the former monk, *George Blaurock*, asked Conrad Grebel to baptize him in a truly Christian fashion, "there being no ordained person present", and Grebel did so. "When this had been done the fifteen others entreated Blaurock to baptize them, which he did; and in deep fear of the Lord they gave themselves to God". They resolved to preach and baptize, because in this they ought to obey God rather than men.[129]

[124] *Hans Brotli* of Graubünden, the preacher at Zollikon near Zurich, instructed the peasantry in the principles of Anabaptism, not forgetting to denounce tithes and dues as contrary to the Pauline precept that all men should earn their bread by the work of their hands. (Bax).

[125] *Andrew Castelberg*, called Andreas auf der Stülzen, came from the Rhäto-romanish part of Switzerland. He was a book-seller—early interested in the Anabaptist party. In 1522 he was the leader of a school of heretics in Zurich. We find him mentioned at Basle and Chur, and at Zurich he is spoken of as a "Servant of the Word".

[126] Staehelin: Zwingli, Vol. I., p. 473 ff. Zimmermann: Müntzer, p. 150. Egli: Actensammlung, p. 278, No. 624. Kidd: Documents of the Reformation, p. 454.

[127] Lindsay, p. 447.

[128] Jackson: Zwingli, p. 245.

By such action they proclaimed that all who had been awakened to the true faith by the inward light, were entitled to receive baptism, and all who had received it were entitled to confer it on others. This event, which marks the beginning of the Anabaptist movement properly so-called, occurred on January 21, 1525.

By the decision to constitute re-baptism a sign and seal of membership of their community, the Brethren definitely cut themselves loose from the rest of Christendom, Protestant no less than Catholic. It was the gauntlet thrown down to the current Christianity in all its forms.[130]

This baptism was by pouring and not by immersion. The idea found quick acceptance and soon all their adherents were baptized. They all agreed that the "baptism" they had received in infancy was invalid. Yet because the entire Christian church in all centuries up to that time, and with the exception of the Baptists ever since, had proclaimed that infant baptism was valid, the party received the name of Anabaptist—that is those who baptize again those previously baptized.

One of these Anabaptists, Rudolph Thomann, of Zollikon, examined by the Council of Zurich on February 7, 1525, thus described the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper as observed in the Zollikon gatherings:

"He had eaten the Lord's Supper with the old assistant (Brotli), and him from Wyttikon (Reubli), and had invited them into his house . . . There many had assembled so that the apartment was full; there was much speaking and long readings. Then stood up Hans Bruggbach of Zumicon, weeping and crying out that he was a great sinner and asking all present to pray to God for him.

[129] Lindsay: Opus cit., 447. Beck: Die Geschichts-Bücher der Wiedertaüfer in Ostreich-Ungern von 1526 bis 1785. Vienna 1883. Bax, p. 4.

[130] Bax, pp. 18-19.

Whereupon Blaurock asked him if he desired the grace of God and he said, "Yes". Manz then arose and said: "Who will hinder me from baptizing him?" Blaurock answered, "No one". So Manz took a dipper of water and baptized him in the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. Whereupon Jacob Hottinger arose and desired baptism; and Felix Manz baptized him also . . . . Seeing the loaf on the table, Blaurock said: "Whoever believes that God has redeemed him with his death and rosy-colored blood, comes and eats with me from this loaf and drinks with me from this wine." Then each one present ate and drank as invited." [131]

When the Council heard that adult baptism had begun, they passed a law that all who had been rebaptized after February 8, 1525 were to be fined a silver mark, and that whoever was baptized after the issue of the decree should be banished. They also imprisoned the leaders. [132]

Frequent debates with the Anabaptists were held in Zurich. One of them was of special importance, being held there on March 20, 1525 and three days thereafter. But these debates only widened the breach between the Anabaptists and the moderate party headed by Zwingli. The punishment of banishment which the Council inflicted for rebaptism did not lessen the number of the Anabaptists. Yet Zwingli vigorously (and ironically) declared, the Council did not punish them for their views but because they were enemies to the standing order.

Among those openly to adhere to the Anabaptist party was the famous theologian, *Balthazar Hübmeier.* [133]

[131] Egli: Actensammlung, No. 636.
[132] Lindsay, Opus cit., p. 447.
[133] *Balthazar Hübmeier.* In June 1524, delegates representing a very wide circle of "praying assemblies" or "Readings" met at Waldshut, in the house of Balthazar Hübmeier, bringing their Bibles with them, to consult how to organize their Christian living on lines laid down in the New Testament. (Lindsay, p. 434). Hübmeier was burnt at the stake in Vienna, March 10, 1525, dying as a heroic martyr for his belief. Vedder: Balthazar Hübmeier. In Heroes of the Reformation Series. N. Y. 1905.

He quickly became their leading man, and it was with him chiefly that Zwingli was engaged in hot debate,—all the more painful to Zwingli for Hübmeier had been one of his bosom friends.

Grebel, Manz, and Blaurock [134] were at once banished.

Consistently believing in their favorite panacea, the Council ordered a third public disputation, which took place November 6, 1526. As before, Zwingli was the spokesman for the Reformed party. Grebel, Manz and Blaurock were temporarily recalled from their banishment to debate with him. As they naturally declared themselves unconquered they were again threatened with the severest punishment.

When the Council found that neither fines, nor threats, nor imprisonment, nor banishment had any effect upon the Anabaptists the City Council sought to terrify them with the death sentence. Two were selected, Manz and Blaurock. The latter was not a citizen, and the sentence of death was therefore commuted to one of public scourging and being thrust out of town. But Felix Manz, a townsman, was put to *death by drowning* in the Lake of Zurich, January 7, 1527. [135]

Most of the Anabaptist leaders met with violent deaths [136] Yet the fortitude of the Anabaptist martyrs made a great impression and the party continued to flourish for a while in spite of the efforts of the magistracy. Zwingli and his associates wrote book after book against them, and honestly favored their extinction as enemies of church and state. [137]

[134] *Blaurock* was so-called from the fact that he habitually wore a blue coat. He was Brother Goerge from the monastery of Jacob's House near Chur. He was cruelly beaten and banished from Zurich under the threat of death if he returned. (Egli: Actensammlung, No. 1110.) He did return, however, and secretly baptized. He lived until 1529 when he was burned for alleged heresy at Innsbruck.
[135] Lindsay, p. 447.
[136] See Frederick L. Weis: Life, etc. of Hans Denck, pp. 6-7.
[137] Jackson: Zwingli, pp. 247-248.

Zwingli's attacks upon the Anabaptists were greatly admired by his fellow religionists in and outside of Zurich. They found no fault with his harsh and cruel jibes, his exaggerated tales and his coarse anecdotes. They did not mind his prolixity. As for his arguments, they considered them unanswerable. In consequence of the cruel treatment they received, the Anabaptists after a time ceased to exist in the canton of Zurich except in very small and scattered gatherings. [138]

As the Anabaptist sect grew and spread to other cities, statutes were drawn up against them. The following edict, published on September 9, 1527 at Zurich, Bern and St. Gall sets forth—for the first time the alleged errors and crimes of the Anabaptist party:

"They seduce men from the congregations of the orthodox teachers and assail the public preachers with abuse; they babble in corners, woods, and fields; contract spiritual marriages, thereby giving occasion for adulteries; even command crime in the name of the Lord, e. g., the parricide at St. Gall; glory in divine revelations and miracles; teach that the Devil can be saved, and that in their church one could indulge lust without crime; had other signs of a league aside from catabaptism; would not carry swords; pronounced principal and interest wicked; would have all external goods common and deposited in the midst of them, so that no one could use them as his own peculiar right; forbade Christians to accept the magistracy or to execute an oath. In order that this growth, dangerous to Christianity, wicked, harmful, turbulent, seditious, may be eradicated, we have thus decreed: if any one is suspected of catabaptism he is to be warned by the magistracy to leave off, under penalty of the designated punishment. Individuals as the civil contract obliges should inform upon those favorable to catabaptism.

[138] Jackson, p. 265.

Whoever shall not fit his conduct to this dissuasion is liable to punishment according to the opinion of the magistracy and the circumstances of the case; teachers, baptizing preachers, itinerants and leaders of conventicles, or those previously released from prison and who have sworn to desist from such things, are to be drowned. Foreigners, their faith being pledged, are to be driven out, if they return are to be drowned. No one is allowed to secede from the Church and absent himself from the Holy Supper. Men led into error by fraud may receive a mitigation of their punishment in proportion to their property and standing. Whoever flees from one jurisdiction to another shall be banished or given up on demand." [139]

* * * *

After their banishment Reubli and Brotli went via Eglisau and Hallau towards Schaffhausen and the Rhine to Waldshut. Ludwig Hetzer went once again to Augsburg. The kindly Abbot of Cappel—knowing of Hetzer's banishment—took friendly leave of him and consoled him by writing letters to him. [140]

The Brethren, or the Anabaptists, as we may now call them, were thus well-nigh all driven from Zurich, and the little company in its original form was broken up and dispersed. The result was only to carry the seed of the new doctrines over the whole of Northern Switzerland and Southern Germany [141], and it was in doing this that Hetzer found use for his great talents as a missionary and propagandist. Thus it came about that the Anabaptist beliefs and teachings were soon spread abroad like wild-fire, as a quaint old account of the origin of their sect declares: "Anno 1524 and 1525. A. C. is God's word

[139] Simmler: Sammlung alter und neuer Urkunden zu Beleuchtung der Kirchengeschichte vornemlich des Schweizer-Landes. I., 2, 449-458. Jackson: Zwingli, pp. 259-261.

[140] Letter of Brotli from Hallau to Zollikon, Füssli, I., 201 ff. Letter of Hetzer to Zwingli, September 1525. Keim, p. 240.

[141] Bax, p. 20.

and the Gospel of Jesus Christ come into all Germany, after the Peasant's War." [142]

[142] Beck: Geschichtsbücher, II., pp. 11-12.

Chapter XII.

Hetzer as the Head of the Anabaptists at Augsburg. January 21, 1525—September 14, 1525.

For better or worse Hetzer journeyed towards Augsburg and for a time found shelter there. To be sure he was not received again at the home of George Regel. For the latter was afraid to associate openly with him lest he lose his Bavarian manors. Nevertheless Regel remained his friend and patron even in his misfortune. Hetzer's scholarship enabled him to get work easily in the literary world and he probably earned his living as proof-reader at the firm of Silvanus Ottmar. [143]

At first he was a person of very small importance in Augsburg and his life must have been a very quiet and restrained one. But he did not long remain inactive. His personal aspirations finally overcame time and circumstances. He found at Augsburg a radical party which for the moment seemed to have the upper hand. This party had little use either for the conservatism of the old Catholic Church or the moderation of the Lutheran element. By force of arms and executions they had succeeded in cowing the City Council. Thus the turbulent spirits of Zurich and of Wittenberg took their turn in South Germany.

Several circumstances helped to prepare the field for Hetzer's successful leadership of the radicals and for the rapid growth of his followers. The main cause was the discontent and spirit of unrest and suspicion which was in the air.

In the first place the heads of two weavers—old men of 60 years—fell on the scaffold before the Town Hall of Augsburg, September 15, 1524, because they had aided the revolt at the time of the expulsion of the Franciscan

[143] Hetzer's letter to Zwingli of September 1525, in which one sees the relation with Regel and with Ottmar. In general one can say: vivo ut possum. Keim, p. 240. Meyer v. Knonau in A. D. B. 11:29. Staehelin: Briefe und Akten.... Oekolampads; note on Letter No. 287.

preachers. [144] This was an event which could not easily be forgotten. Then there was a feeling of suspicion against the Council, against the preachers and especially against Urbanus Rhegius (who had taken the place of the Franciscan preacher Schilling and whom the people had disliked from the time he preached his first sermon.)

Rhegius has been uniformly represented both by the Lutherans and the Zwinglians as a man whose statements were often flagrantly untrue. It took him some time to make up his mind whether he would support Zwingli or Luther for he was indeed a good deal of a dissembler. Eventually, however, he took the Lutheran side and became very much of a trouble-maker for the Anabaptists, especially for Hans Denck and Hans Hut. Contemporary accounts speak of him as being "inconstant", "factious", "a man who strives after popularity", and a contemporary Protestant chronicle calls him "an unmanageable man" "with whom no one can get along". [145]

There had been in the churches of Augsburg small changes in regard to images and the mass—but these changes were too insignificant to be called real reforms on the one hand, and on the other hand they only served to infuriate those weavers who remained faithful to the old order of things.

If one adds to all this the fact that in the Spring of the next year, 1522, (at the beginning of the social and religious revolution known as the Peasant's War) the Council of Augsburg found it necessary to assemble troops within the walls of the city itself for fear of civil war,—it is very clear how Hetzer might take advantage of the confusion of the times and how he was encouraged to take up once again his former plans, which his banishment from Zurich seemed to have spoiled.

In truth Hetzer had great hopes and zeal for the new

[144] Cf. Keim: Schwäbischen Reformation, pp. 32 ff.
[145] Weis: Johannes Denck, p. 36.

Anabaptist party at Augsburg. He became its first known leader. Denck and Cellarius were his successors but the organization of the Anabaptist community was his work.

During this same year, 1524, Simon Stumpf (who had escaped from Zurich) [146] brought his radical ideas to the neighboring town of Ulm where the ground had already been prepared for his sowing by the indefatigable Hetzer. It is not supposed that Hetzer ever resided at Ulm, but while still living at Augsburg he probably went there from time to time to preach his gospel.

Hetzer and Stumpf preached against the old dogmas and showed their falsity. During these days at Augsburg they learned of the teachings of Karlstadt which they readily accepted. They took pride in advocating Karlstadt's views and soon openly boasted that they were followers of him and at the same time they burned with passion against the Lutheran point of view.

A great change, moreover, came over Hetzer himself. He declared himself against his former friend, the troublesome Urbanus Rhegius, who had entered the lists against Karlstadt both in his pulpit and in his writings. [147] Furthermore Hetzer condemned Rhegius in a letter to Zwingli as one of the most violent enemies of the Swiss idea of the Lord's Supper. Nor could he now say enough against Johann Bugenhagen, who had also been his friend, whose opinions he had formerly held, whose commentaries on Paul's letters he had translated the year before, and whose Last Supper letter to Johann Hess of Breslau (1525) he now wished to repudiate. Finally he declared himself against Amsdorff whose book appeared to him

[146] *Simon Stumpf* from Bödigheim in Franconia had been banished from Zurich after the disputation of October 1523. Previous to this he had fled from Basle where he had been a priest. He had found a living in 1520 at Höngg, a village near Zurich, and here he had thundered against the authority of church and state until his banishment. (Bax. pp. 6, 7, 15 and 16.)
[147] Keim: Aufsatz über Zwinglianismus in Schwaben, in the Theol. Jahr. for 1854, No. 6, p. 549. Also Jahrbücher für d. Theol., 1856, p. 242.

worthless.

In this same letter Hetzer told Zwingli that Urbanus Rhegius had confessed to him in the Fall of 1524 that it was he who had written under the name "Hessus" and that the anti-Zwinglian letter of Pomeranus to Johann Hess also came from his pen. [148] Indeed Hetzer sought by an answer to the letters of Bugenhagen [149] to provoke Zwingli against Urbanus Rhegius and Stephen Agricola. He declared to Zwingli that everywhere in Augsburg people were saying "that Hector (Zwingli) had found in Pomeranus his Achilles!" [150]

"I gaze, I read and am astonished at these blind theologians," wrote Hetzer to Zwingli, "who want to show us Christ anywhere else than at the right hand of the Father." Rhegius, Agricola, Bugenhagen and others of the Lutheran faith, it will be remembered, believed in the real presence of Christ at the Lord's Supper just as the Roman Catholic believed in the physical presence of Christ at the sacrifice of the mass—while Hetzer himself held views akin to Zwingli and Karlstadt,—namely that at the communion table the spirit and not the physical presence of Christ was present. With great energy, therefore, Hetzer combated at Augsburg this cult of the "fleshly Christ" and he achieved great success. More passionately than Rhegius fought the ideas of Karlstadt, Hetzer spoke against Rhegius and the hestitating Agricola. Thus his friendship with Urbanus Rhegius found a sudden ending. [151]

We have still to speak of the Peasant's War which occurred in this turbulent year, 1525. This terrible war was the natural consequence of the miserable condition of the peasants. They were virtually in a state of serfdom.

148 See note number 18 above.
149 Printed by Ottmar at Augsburg.
150 "der Hector Zwingli habe an Pomeranus seinen Achilleus gefunden."
151 Hetzer to Zwingli, September 1525. Regel to Zwingli, 157. Keim, p. 245. Z. S. W., VIII, 360-364.

These armed risings of the peasants of central and southern Germany in 1525, were not brought about by the new doctrines of the Reformation but were stages in the disintegration of the feudal system. The peasants no longer enjoyed their old communal rights. Instead both their spiritual and temporal lords burdened them by rents and services until they were truly bound to the sod they tilled. While the peasants toiled their lords took part in private wars between themselves whereby the helpless peasants were killed, their houses and barns burned and their crops trampled underfoot. During the Peasant's War the revolting peasants were put down with the most savage cruelty and their lot became *worse* than before. With diabolical zeal all who were in the slightest degree to blame were pursued and punished. It is estimated that at least 150,000 perished. The economic loss which Germany suffered by this catastrophe is incalculable; and the peasants, impoverished, dejected, and exposed to severer servitude than ever, issued from the insurrection to face a well-nigh hopeless future. [152]

It was in this year that Hetzer wrote a little brochure: "Of Evangelical Reckonings and of Christian Doctrine out of Holy Scripture. Ludwig Hetzer. O God Release the Captives! 1525." ("Von den Evangelischen Zechen und von der Christen red auss hailiger geschrifft. Ludwig Hetzer. O Gott, erlöss die gefangenen. MDXXV.") which he dedicated to a bourgeois of Constance, his friend Achatius Fremd. In this booklet he shows a marked and critical knowledge of the great differences between the rich and the poor, misery and opulence, and yet he does not claim the Kingdom of God *only* for the poor or for those who carry fearful crosses and suffering. [153]

152 Schaff-Hertzog Ency.: Article on the Peasant's War.
153 The observation of Hetzer concerning the poor and their condition in the Kingdom of God comes from the Preface to the translation of Malachi in 1526. Salig: Gesch. der A. Conf. 3, 183 ff.

Any official association of Hetzer with the Peasant's War is very difficult to prove and one is inclined to believe that he did not wholly approve of it. At least this little brochure contains strong opposition to the new gospel of that day which consisted in settling disputes with pikes and guns. In it he declared that the gospel of gun-fire and murder is a gospel of great harm. And yet he openly proclaimed his joy at the success of the peasants of Salzburg against the Cardinal-Bishop Lang. [154]

The Anabaptists met at Augsburg during this year, 1525, and they were noticed by the other Protestants of Augsburg not only because of their belief concerning adult baptism and their views of the Lord's Supper, but also because they were a community of brothers and sisters in Christ, poor in the world, happy in the cross, and thirsty for God through prayer and the reading of the immortal Word (the Bible).

At these meetings, which were held in secret, Hetzer spoke ardently against Zwingli and Leo Jud as being the least indulgent combatants of the men of progress at Zurich. [155] Aside from this we do not know what was discussed at this convention.

In his booklet "on Evangelical Reckoning" Hetzer spoke sharply against those who compel people "with guns and pikes to keep the gospel" (welche mit Büchsen und Spiessen ausziehen, um das Evangelium zu erhalten) and he contrasts the "new Christians" and the "new gospel" with the "old Christians" and the "old gospel".

The "new evangelicals" (as he called the moderate party—whether Lutheran or Reformed—whose leaders, were Zwingli, Jud and Urbanus Rhegius) passed for men with small crosses (Hetzer sarcastically said) as patrons

[154] Hetzer to Zwingli; September, 1525. Z. S. W., VIII, 360-364.

[155] Oecolampadius to Zwingli, Nov. 4, 1525: (Augustani) nunc scribunt, ideo (H) proscriptum quod tibi ac Leoni fecerit negotum et ex Catabaptisarum numero sit.

and friends of carnal pleasures and liberty, who began with these principles: Youth should not let itself be forced into a mean little corner: Water ought to remain in the river without overflowing: Certain pleasures do not harm anyone. Those who pass their time in loud cries, in laughter, in lascivity, in prolixity and disorder, in drinking, resemble Bacchus and not Christ, and people call themselves evangelical if only they are well behaved and hate the mean papists.

But, Hetzer continues, *some* pleasures ought surely to be the pleasures of the Holy Spirit, *some* pious discourses from the Holy Scriptures, *some* holy prayers ought to be works of love spent on one's neighbor, strengthening and fortifying the weak and by much sadness to arrive in the Kingdom of God. [156]

It was really not very difficult for Hetzer to hold a position of great influence in this circle with the rich means that he had at hand. He was well educated and intelligent as even Zwingli and Vadian admitted. [157] He was courageous and resourceful in his views and as eloquent as he was worldly-wise. He was a skillful observer and painter of life. In sum, he was well fitted to be a party leader. Words came easily to him as to few others. He was clear and precise in his expressions and very broad-minded in his interests. He was attracted now to the customs of the Old Testament, of the Psalmists, of the Prophets;—now to popular proverbs;—now by studies of old departed elegances;—drawn now by the impulsion of profound religious activity;—now by the unchaining of ardent passions: this was the type of man who found himself in the very responsible position of "ambitious champion of the community of the Anabaptists" (as Hummelsberg of

[156] From the writings of the "Evangelical Reckoning".

[157] Zwingli's opinions in the above quoted letter to Frosch. Vadian's in Füssli: Beiträge 5, 396.

Ravensburg called him.) [158]

As a leader he organized and set the dogmatic thinking of the Anabaptists of Augsburg. Thus he impressed Zwingli as the head of a great party. [159]

His philosophy of life was based upon an exalted ecclesiastical and social radicalism and his own thoughts and actions were consistent with this philosophy of life. But as the leader of such a sect as that of the Anabaptists of his day—who were individualists *par excellence*—he had to shut his eyes to certain differences of opinion in his community. He did not, for example, make any objection to rebaptism although he cared little for it himself.

Occasionally, especially in regard to those persons who opposed him, Hetzer descended to the use of intrigue and unfriendly gossip in his letters—but in this he was only the product of his day. No one could hope to equal Luther and Zwingli in such conduct. Hetzer wrote Zwingli concerning Urbanus Rhegius—who had been his friend—things which are neither courteous nor decent—judging by modern standards. For example, he talked much of the complicity and cowardly fear of Rhegius—and yet he begged Zwingli that his denunciations might not reach the ears of Rhegius,—for then the latter might become his dangerous enemy. Hetzer mentioned the views he held in common with Zwingli concerning the Lord's Supper in the hope that Zwingli might become more friendly to him and thus excuse his conduct at Zurich. With several communications of literary news he hoped to enter once again into relations with the influential men of Zurich—with his friend, the negligent letter writer, the Abbot of Cappel, and with Leo Jud. Yet even at the time he was writing his long friendly letter of September 14, 1525 to Zwingli—even while he was writing the following

158 "ruhmsüchtiger Vorfechter der Täufergemeinde." Keim, p. 217.

159 "Rogant mecum plurini bonae fidei viri." "Parum abfuit, quin proprium nucium misissem ex aere quorundam fratrum."

words to Zwingli: "I have erred, I confess; I wish in the future to be more prudent and to act somewhat more wisely," he was working at Augsburg in a very active manner *against* both Zwingli and Leo Jud—since they were destroyers of the peace and lives of his partisans. [160]

His position as leader of the Anabaptists of Augsburg was not long-lived, for in the month of September 1525, he was invited to take part with Urbanus Rhegius in an official disputation. The subject of the disputation was the anti-Zwinglian sermons of Rhegius,—especially on the passage "The flesh profiteth nothing". (John 4:63). It is not surprising that Hetzer did not appear at this discussion—for the result could only have been imprisonment or worse for him. At any rate he was absent at the hour determined upon. But the result was the same as if he had been there. For the municipal Council (at that particular time ruled by the active evangelical physician, Gereon Sayler) immediately exiled Hetzer from the city because of his position as head of the Anabaptist sect (exactly as they exiled his successor, Hans Denck, a year later) declaring that he was "a turbulent, revolutionary man and an enemy of the gospel".

Thus the second part of his activity at Augsburg came to an end. But he left behind a community of Anabaptists which grew and spread thoughout southern Germany, and not only Urbanus Rhegius but the Lutheran party, especially at Augsburg, was seriously worried by their rapid growth and energetic activity. [161]

160 Hetzer to Zwingli, September 14, 1525. Also Hummelsberg's letter to Zwingli of November 4, 1525 in which he excuses his poisonous denunciations: scio, christianum esse, plurina dissimulare, multa pati, convitia contemnere. Scio etiam. non christianum esse ad Christi convitia connivere, quia nec ipse passus est obprobia in patrem suum. Mat. 4. Z. S. W., 8:361-364.

161 Johann Zwick in a letter to Vadian, September 1, 1524 (Simml. Samml. Vol. 35) speaks of Sayler's collaboration. The reason for Hetzer's expulsion Hummelsberg gives in a letter to Thomas Blaurer. That Urbanus Rhegius had been friendly to Hetzer up to this time may be seen from the letter of Hetzer to Zwingli: Urbanus si resciret, plurimum mihi obesse posset. Keim, p. 249.

Chapter XIII.

Hetzer at Basle and Zurich.

1. Constance.

On September 14, 1525, Ludwig Hetzer wrote a friendly letter from Augsburg to Zwingli. [162] During this same month of September he was banished from Augsburg as we have seen. From necessity he determined to go to Basle. Some friends at Augsburg gave him letters of recommendation to Johannes Oecolampadius [163] whom he he did not know. His thoughts alternated between a return to Zurich or to Augsburg which he hoped to accomplish by the aid of the friendly Oecolampadius. On his way to Basle he passed through Constance. Here, in the circle of some priests, and the Blaurer brothers he happened to meet again Michael Hummelsberg of Ravensburg before whom (as at Basle and at Zurich) he posed as a martyr to the Lord's Supper views of Zwingli. This pose was of no avail and he ended by weeping bitter tears, for he found that the inhabitants of Constance were too partial to Urbanus Rhegius. The tears were partly for his much desired return to Augsburg: but they were also his expression of the hopeless situation in which he found himself—sick and without means. [164]

2. Basle.

At the beginning of October, Oecolampadius received Hetzer into his own house. He aided him.

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162 Quoted in the appendix.

163 *Johannes Oecolampadius* (Heussgen, Hussgen, Hauschein, i. e. candlestick) was born at Weinsberg, 25 miles north of Stuttgart in the Palatinate in 1482 and he died at Basle, November 24, 1531. He studied jurisprudence at Heilbronn and Bologna and theology in 1499, at Heidelberg. He was made a bachelor of theology in 1503, and in 1515, was called to Basle where he became a popular lecturer at the University the next year. He became one of the first Reformers of Basle following Capito and Reubli. He was a lecturer, teacher, preacher, proof-reader, humanist scholar, mystic and famed writer on the Lord's Supper. Life by Herzog.

164 "corpusculum meum infirmum alias, etc." Letter from Oecolampadius to Zwingli, November 4, 1525. Hetzer to Zwingli, October 17, 1525. Hummelsberg to Blaurer. Z. S. W., VIII: 389-390.

Here on his own initiative Hetzer undertook—and on the seventeenth of October had nearly finished—a German translation of the first writing of Oecolampadius on the Lord's Supper: "De genuina verborum domini, hoc est corpus meum, iuxta vetustissimos authores expositione liber." 1525. [165] By such a translation Oecolampadius hoped to clarify the minds of the people regarding the Lord's Supper.

The controversy concerning the Lord's Supper (in which this book of Oecolampadius played an important part) made a division between the Saxon and Swiss reformers and dealt a most grievous blow at the Reformation. The teachings of Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt [166] gave occasion for this strife and called forth from Luther's pen a series of works directed against his doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Karlstadt's conception corresponded well with the tendency of the theologians of the school of Erasmus,—to understand and explain Scripture in harmony with reason. Zwingli had long cherished this doctrine in secret. Erasmus was clearly inclined towards it. To refute Karlstadt, Luther wrote against the Celestial Prophets in 1525; Bugenhagen's work, "Contra Novum Errorem de Sacramento Corporis et Sanguinis Christi," was directed against Zwingli.

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165 Curiously enough Chester D. Hartranft in his "Letters and Treatises of Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossig," Leipzig, 1911, Vol. II., (1524-1527) p. 208, ascribes this work to the celebrated John Chrysostom. The book was published at Strasbourg, and Farel oversaw the printing. See Herminjard, I: 370. E. Staehelin: Oekolampads Beziehungen zu den Romanen, 1917, note 57. The German translation appeared in 1526 being printed by Philip Ulhart in Augsburg. Schottenloher: Ulhart, p. 128. See letter No. 287, Oecolampadius to Zwingli, written from Basle, October 18, 1525. Staehelin: Briefe und Akten..Oekolampads. On December 20, 1525, George Bender, Hetzer's former friend, wrote to Vadian: "Tiguri vero testimonia veterum PER TES EUCHARISTIAS Joannis Oecolampadii latina lingua excusa sunt et a Ludowico Häzero in vernaculum nostram tralata ante nativitatem perficientur."

166 *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt*: 1504, Professor in Wittenberg; 1520, at Copenhagen; 1522, in riots about images and vestments; 1523-4, in Orlamünde; then excommunicated; then in South Germany, East Friesland, Switzerland; d. Basle, 1541.

Karlstadt, oppressed by want, and the suspicion of being concerned in the Peasant's War, soon yielded and returned repentant to Saxony; but the controversy awakened by him was continued by both parties in a violent series of works. Oecolampadius joined Zwingli, notably by producing the Latin volume above mentioned which Hetzer translated into German. Oecolampadius, however, met with opponents in the Swabian preachers led by Johannes Brenz and Erhard Schnepf. Brenz in particular wrote a work entitled, "Clarissimorum virorum, qui anno 1525 Halae Suevorum convenerunt, syngramma et pium et eruditum super verbis coenae dominicae ad Jo. Oecolampadium" bearing the date of October 21, 1525. This work is commonly called the "Syngramma Suevicum". Luther himself first appeared against the Swiss party in the Preface of Stephen Agricola's translation of this Swabian Syngramma into German in 1526, and thus a warfare was enkindled which brought into the bitterest opposition the reformers of both parties who ought to have been united by the closest bonds in their common enterprise and danger. Eventually the Swiss doctrine of the Lord's Super also found support beyond the bounds of Switzerland, especially in Southern Germany, Strasbourg and Ulm. [167]

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Meanwhile Hetzer worked quietly at the home of Oecolampadius and the latter found nothing to criticize in his mode of living—nor, indeed, with his views. His guest, he thought, was cured of the follies of Anabaptism and, for the moment, after his sickness and wanderings, probably Hetzer did have grave doubts as to the value of his former ideas. He had been banished from Augsburg, Rhegius had said, because of his assaults against Zwingli,

[167] Gieseler: Ecclesiastical History, 1862, IV., 107-112; Pfaff: Acta et Scripta, 41, 153.

but Oecolampadius learned the truth of the situation from Hetzer himself.

Through Oecolampadius, Hetzer sought a reconciliation with Zwingli. Already at Constance he had intimated his desire to return to Zurich. Even though he had not received a reply to a letter sent to Zwingli on October 17, 1525, [168] he wrote once again to him. He told him about his troubles and explained to him his vow to translate the response to Bugenhagen as a counter-weight against Agricola's copy. [169] He repented of his part in the poisonous game of Urbanus Rhegius concerning the writing of the letters signed by the ficticious name of "Simon Hessus" by assuring Zwingli through the grace of Christ that he would live without fault in the future towards the whole world. He begged Zwingli to reply with a friendly word or two. In return he promised to call Zwingli his friend as much as he was allowed to do so. He denounced the anti-Zwinglian sentiments of the Blaurer brothers in Constance, but these denunciations only fortified the friendship between Zwingli and Ambrosius Blaurer.

On October 22nd, several days later, he desired to go to Zurich himself for the commencement of the printing of his book,—if Zwingli declared himself favorably disposed towards having it printed there and put no difficulties in his way.

Through his far-seeing maneuver with Oecolampadius in the dispute with the Swabians he hoped to find grace with Zwingli. And then he hoped that he might return to Zurich in order to facilitate his return to Augsburg. On November 4th, he started towards Zurich with his finished translations together with letters from Oecol-

[168] Quoted in the appendix.

[169] This appeared at Zurich in 1526 with the title: "Answer to the Letter of Johann Bugenhagen." We have no certain proof but the probability is that Hetzer translated it into German from the Latin. Zwingli's "Responsio" was finished before the work of Oecolampadius, "De genuina verborum domini," etc.

ampadius recommending him to Zwingli [170] and to several other friends in Zurich. He had been warned, however, by his host, before going, that he must not begin anew conversation with Zwingli about the Anabaptists.

This was not the first of the many trips Hetzer took along the road from Basle to Zurich. As he trudged along, now and then, a "noble or a wealthy merchant would fly past in silks and furs, with a body-guard of a dozen stout fellows; or a poor clerk would jog along on his ass, looking anxiously towards each wood or rock that bordered the road ahead. Robbers (frequently in the service of the lord of the land) infested the way. It was safest to don the coarse frieze tunic of the pilgrim, without pockets," sling your little package of books and letters at your girdle, "strap a wallet of bread and herbs and salt on your back, and laugh at the nervous folk who peek out from their coaches over a hedge of pikes and daggers. Few monasteries refused a meal or a rough bed to the wandering scholar." To his left, below him, rushed the clear, swift waters of the graceful Rhine. Across the river he caught glimpses of the thick forests of Southern Germany. Rolling up on his right lay the smiling fields and vineyards of his beloved Switzerland, until they were lost in the distant round-topped foot-hills of the Alps. Past Säckingen, a charming Rhine town, he continued straight through Swiss Baden, (whose high castles and strong-holds frowned down upon the neat, modest homes in the valley) until at length he reached pleasant Zurich, divided, then as now, by the rushing stream ever pouring out of the serene lake, whose calm waters nightly mirrored the pink tops of the distant snow peaks of the Alps. Such was the well worn route which

[170] Oecolampadius probably said this to Zwingli in his letter of November 4, 1525 (Z. S. W.: VIII., 417-418). "fort assis ubi coram vobis se purgarit, licebit ei et Augustam facilius reverti." Corp. Ref. Vol. 95, No. 404, p. 417. Also abstract of letter No. 298, from Oecolampadius to Zwingli, written from Basle, November 4, 1525. Staehelin: Briefe u. Akten...Oekolampads.

brought our traveller to the door of Zwingli's hospitable home under the shadow of the Great Minster at Zurich.

3. Zurich

At Zurich, Hetzer took part as a listener at the disputation (November 9, 1525) concerning baptism. He declared afterwards that he clearly saw how very warmly the Anabaptists were received by the very learned pastor, the servant of Christ, "Huldrycher Zwingli". The latter in his amazement thought that a great miracle of God had happened when Hetzer declared himself content with the justification of baptism without papal additions, as a sign of testament. The truth of the matter was that he cared little for the outward visible signs such as baptism—but he cared very much for the inner grace. Zwingli favored the printing of the translation at Froschauer's but later he sent Hetzer back to Basle with a letter for Oecolampadius in which he clearly shows his lack of faith in him. [171]

4. Basle

When Hetzer returned to the home of Oecolampadius at Basle, immediately after the above-mentioned disputation, he recounted the convincing proofs of Zwingli and the follies of the Anabaptists! He went so far as to say that the Anabaptists should be converted anew! In particular he declared himself Zwingli's pupil in regard to the Lord's Supper. [172]

The views of Zwingli regarding the Lord's Supper

[171] Letters: Oecolampadius to Zwingli of November 4th, 11th and 13th. Capito's remark: qui nuper apud revocavit—is to be found in a letter of his to Zwingli in 1527. The letter of November 4th from Oecolampadius to Zwingli does not contain any allusion that Hetzer had returned to Basle. The note of distrust is mentioned in Oecolampadius to Zwingli, November 11th.

[172] Keim, p. 252. Corp. Ref. Vol. 95, letters 405 and 406, pp. 416f, and 421 f. Staehelin: Zwingli und Luther, Vol. I., p. 513 f. Staehelin: Briefe u. Akten.... Oekolampads, letters No. 302 and 303 of November 11th and November 13th. The disputation took place November 9th. Hetzer reported what had happened there to Oecolampadius in Basle on November 11th.

were suggested to him by Erasmus, [173] by Ambrose and by Augustine, [174] and they approximated those of Hans Caspar Schwenckfeld. [175] In his "Canon of the Mass" [176] of August 29, 1523, Zwingli "enunciated the doctrine now so commonly associated with his name—that the Eucharist is not a mystery but a *ministry*, the atmosphere is not awe but love, the result is not infusion of grace but of enthusiasm; we remember Christ, and the thought of his presence stirs us to fresh exertion in his service." [177] Zwingli defines the Lord's Supper "with special reference to the Greek word *eucharist*, as a thanksgiving, a festival of thanksgiving among those who proclaim the death of Christ. It involves also the element of self-consecration, and is an act more for the community of Christians before whom the communicant professes thus his faith in Christ than for the communicant alone. Hence Zwingli came to the view that its nature is that of a *symbol*, and he adopted the figurative interpretation of the word 'is' in the words of the institution, 'This is my body,' paraphrasing it, 'This represents my body,' thus sweeping away at once the whole theory of what has been called consubstantiation, as well as transubstantiation." [178]

Though Zwingli wrote much about the Lord's Supper, he always spoke and wrote of it consistently as a commemorative act. [179] Bucer and others attempted numerous compromise formulas so that the Lutherans and the Zwinglians might come to an agreement with one another, but Zwingli could not bring himself to agree with any one of them. During his lifetime he had many devoted followers, notably, Oecolampadius, Haller, Kolb, Capito and Bucer; and others whose theological opinions were as divergent even as those of Hetzer were in substantial agreement with him in this matter, but after his death his theory was not held very long—especially after the theology of Calvin eclipsed that of Zwingli in the Reformed Churches.

In keeping with this simplicity of Zwinglian theory—it is interesting to note how the Zurich Reformer conducted his own first evangelical communion service in the Great Minster on Thursday, April 13, 1525. "A table covered with a clean linen cloth was set between the choir and the nave of the Great Minster. Upon it were the bread upon wooden platters and the wine in wooden beakers. The men and the women of the congregation were upon opposite sides of the main aisle. Zwingli preached a sermon and offered prayer. The deacon read Paul's account of the institution of the sacraments in I Cor. xi, 20 seqq. Then Zwingli and his asssistants and the congregation performed the liturgy, entirely without musical accompaniment in singing, but translated into the Swiss dialect from the Latin service, with the introduction of appropriate Scripture and the entire elimination of the transubstantiation teaching." [180] The elements were then passed by the deacons through the congregation.

5. Zurich

Later (November 24th) Hetzer made another trip

[173] Corpus Reformatorum, iv., 970. Zwingli confessed to Melancthon that Erasmus first suggested his theory of the Lord's Supper. Moreover, Erasmus said to Zwingli in patronising sarcasm, after Zwingli had published his "Commentary on the False and True Religion" in March, 1525, from which a German translation dealing with the part concerning the Lord's Supper was separately issued: "Oh, good Zwingli, what have you written which I did not write myself long before!" (Works, VII., 399.)

[174] Commentary published July 12, 1530.

[175] Zwingli issued a reprint, on August 24, 1528, of Schwenckfeld's treatise on the Lord's Supper, with a preface by himself (Works, II., 3, 22, 23) in which he called attention to the similarity between his doctrine and that of Schwenckfeld. This reprint unfortunately got Schwenckfeld into trouble and he was obliged to leave Silesia and to seek refuge at Strasbourg. (Jackson, p. 287.)

[176] Works, III., 83-116.

[177] Jackson, p. 201.

[178] Dr. Frank Hugh Foster: Zwingli's Theology, Philosophy and Ethics, in Jackson, p. 395. Also Zwingli's Works, III., 253.

[179] "Reckoning of the Faith of Ulric Zwingli to the Roman Emperor Charles", 1530, etc.

[180] Works II., 2, 235-242; Jackson, p. 229.

to Zurich and was much better received by Zwingli.[181] On December 4th, the printing of his translation was begun at Froschauer's.[182] Zwingli was now much more open in his dealings with his old friend "Ludwig" who had not only received with teachableness the difficult lessons of Oecolampadius but who had also thrown himself with the ardor of all his passion into the struggle with the Swabians, which had just begun to flame out.

Hetzer also brought to Zwingli the response which the Swabians had sent to Oecolampadius. Immediately after reading the letter of *Brenz*,[183] Zwingli wrote the following letter to Oecolampadius:

To Johannes Oecolampadius in Basle.

Grace and peace from the Lord.

I have read the letter from (Johannes) Brenz, most learned Oecolampadius. My judgment concerning it, is this: Believe me, if Ludwig had not calmed me by word of mouth from Capito and from thee, that Brenz had addressed to thee a thoroughly friendly and Christian letter, I would have had the strongest desire to take the man sharply to task. And indeed, for this reason, that he

[181] Oecolampadius to Zwingli: Nov. 11th (Z. S. W., VIII.: 419-420) and 24th (Z. S. W., VIII.: 434-435). Zwingli to Oecolampadius, December 1st.

[182] Corp. Ref. 95, No. 416, pp. 446 ff. Zwingli to Oecolampadius, written from Zurich, December 1, 1525.

[183] *Johannes Brenz* was born at Weil near Stuttgart, June 24, 1499 and he died at Stuttgart, September 11, 1570. He was educated at Heidelberg (where he became a master and regent) in 1518. He was nearly tried for heresy in 1522 but escaped by a call to the pastorate of Hall in Swabia. In the Peasant's War Brenz plead with the magistrates and the Evangelical leaders to be lenient with the peasants, but in vain. Brenz attained wide recognition when he published his *"Syngramma Suevicum"* on October 21, 1525 attacking Oecolampadius and finding the explanation of the creative power of the word of Christ in the theory that the body and blood of Christ are actually present in the sacrament. (Luther's idea). Henceforth Brenz took part in all the important conferences on the sacrement. Corp. Ref., Vol. 95, No. 411, pp. 434 f. Staehelin gives an abstract of the letter which Hetzer brought to Zwingli from Basle, November 24, 1525. This letter is No. 305 in Staehelin: Briefe....Oekolampads. Two days later (November 26) Oecolampadius wrote again to Zwingli sending through the latter an admonition to Hetzer. Corp. Ref., Vol. 95, No. 412, pp. 436 f. Staehelin. No. 306.

seems to be eloquent and properly trained in language; but he draws his conclusions in a wholly mistaken manner. He blusters shamelessly where it is not at all in place. He does violence to the Holy Scripture and tells us with such an impudent face, that we are refuted, that I would have given him up as hopeless if, as requested, through thy communication, hesitation had not been imposed upon me. Of your booklet I have read merely something more than half,—for Ludwig demanded it immediately to send back again. Your arguments are well grounded, but he (Brenz) will turn up his nose at them, if he is really the kind of a man his fashion of writing leads one to suppose. I'll be damned if anything emptier or stupider has ever fallen under my eyes . . . . . .

I have urged upon Hetzer to write thee the same. Zurich, 1 December 1525, in haste.

Thine,
Huldrych Zwingli.

Hetzer wrote Oecolampadius a similar letter.[184]

Zwingli placed Hetzer once again in line with his plans and struggles. Through him he recommended to Oecolampadius his plan of battle against Brenz—which was to stick closely to the sixth chapter of the Gospel of John. He also received through him messages from Augsburg, for Hetzer was able to give him literary news about his spiritual companion, the Zwinglian preacher Michael Cellarius,[185] and about his opponent Bugenhagen.

Along with this literary news Hetzer brought Zwingli from time to time the latest Lutheran pamphlets on the Lord's Supper which appeared in Augsburg. In his let-

[184] Oecolampadius to Zwingli, November 24th. (Z. S. W., VIII.: 434-435). Zwingli to Oecolampadius, December 1st. (Z. S. W., VIII.: 446-448). Keim: Zwinglianismus in Schwaben, in Theolog. Jahrb., 1855. Corp. Ref., Vol. 95., No. 416, pp. 446 ff. Staehelin, No. 308.

[185] Zwingli to Vadian, December 23rd. (Z. S. W., VIII.: 470-472). Cellarius was in many ways the successor of Hetzer at Augsburg.

ters he mentions several of these. The first of which we are informed was sent by him to Zwingli along with his letter of September 14, 1525. It was a short work by Nicholas von Amsdorf, a Lutheran sympathizer, at that time situated at Magdeburg, where the booklet was written. This is called "An Exhortation to the People of Magdeburg against the Factious and Sectarian Spirit, Dr. Cycloff." [186] Hetzer characterizes this as a "sordid" booklet, a clear indication that Nicholas von Amsdorf took the Lutheran side. [187]

Amsdorf's little book [188] is really of small importance and perhaps for this very reason it was disasterous to the Zwinglians—for it was not regarded as worthy of an answer, and yet nevertheless it left its mark. Dr. Cycloff is the devil in the person of Zwingli; for though the latter is not named, such is the clear inference. If one says "bad bread and wine used for the sacrament at the altar are not the body and blood of Christ" that is blasphemy; if the sacramental words are intelligently believed when the bread is broken, taken and eaten, it is the true body of Christ. We must accept the Word of God without any additions or changes. Finally Dr. Cycloff (Zwingli) is shown to be a factious spirit and a follower of the Anabaptist Thomas Münzer! For, says Amsdorf, in effect: Like him of Mülhausen (i. e. Thomas Münzer), the devil through his servant Cycloff (i. e. Zwingli) would gladly set up discord, faction and division among you. [189] This is why the people of Magdeburg are urged to beware of Zwingli. We can well believe that Zwingli did not welcome such a comparison!

On September 7, 1525, Franz Kolb, the Zwinglian

[186] "Vermanung an die von Magdeburg widen den rotten—und sectengaist D. Ciclops." 1525.
[187] Letter to Zwingli, Z. S. W., VIII., No. 383.
[188] A copy is to be found in the Library at Munich.
[189] W. Koehler: Zwingli und Luther, p. 202.

reformer at Berne, who already had sent to Zwingli the open letter written to Johann Hess by the Lutheran sympathizer Bugenhagen, said to Zwingli regarding this letter that it was "destitute of the spirit of the Lord." [190] A week later Hetzer spoke not less bitingly of this same letter and urgently begged that Zwingli make a reply to it for the benefit "of many good and pious men." [191] Moreover, on October second, Oecolampadius urged Zwingli to write a reply himself, if he had the time, but at all events have someone answer it. [192] On October eleventh, Zwingli did write an answer to it which Oecolampadius "burned" to see. [193] As for Hetzer, he wished for a German translation of Zwingli's letter in order that the people of Augsburg might know what sort of a letter Bugenhagen had written. [194] Finally, a few days later, October 28th, Capito wrote Zwingli that he had "frankly and carefully" written to Bugenhagen. [195] Thus did Bugenhagen's letter stir up the Zwinglians to action.

The Zwinglians then formed a league in South Germany which was not to be despised. Already Schwenckfeld's doctrine of the Lord's Supper had passed beyond the borders of its birthplace and had spread to the westward. As an answer to the Lutheran sentiments of Bugenhagen expressed in this open letter to Johann Hess of which we have just spoken there appeared a short pamphlet written by "Cumrat Ryss zu Ofen". Hetzer brought this from Augsburg and gave it to Zwingli in December, 1525. [196] It was called the "Second Writing" [197] and at first was thought to be a sermon by Michael Keller

[190] "des Geistes des Herrn bar."
[191] Hetzer to Zwingli, Z. S. W., VIII., No. 383.
[192] Z. S. W., VIII., Letter No. 387.
[193] Z. S. W., VIII., Nos. 391, 394, 396.
[194] Z. S. W., VIII., No. 393.
[195] W. Köhler: Zwingli und Luther, p. 287.
[196] Z. S. W., VIII., No. 426.
[197] "Zweite Schrift."

of Augsburg. The author is still unknown, but probably the work was written by George Regel, Hetzer's friend, who later became a thoroughgoing Schwenckfeldian. [198]

During Hetzer's abscence from Basle, on December 21, and December 24, 1525, Oecolampadius preached two stirring sermons on the Lord's Supper which were printed in Latin [199] and later translated into German by Hetzer.

6. Basle Again

On December 28 and 29, Hetzer journeyed back to Basle on horse-back, bringing the news to Oecolampadius and Conrad Pellican [200] that the latter was called to be Professor of Hebrew at Zurich. Not only did he bring the news of this appointment to Pellican but he had been engaged by Wilhelm von Zell to discuss and arrange all the details in regard to the case. Pellican accepted the position and did excellent work in his capacity at Zurich

198 Koehler: Zwingli und Luther, p. 274. The second edition of this "Zweite Schrift" was printed by Ulhart, see Schottenloher: Ph. Ulhart, p. 119. Finsler and Schottenloher believe that Keller was the author. See also M. Martin: Johann Sandtsperger, 1902, p. 108 f.

199 The title of this work as it appeared in Hetzer's translation is: "On the Lord's Supper: Proof from evangelical writings as to who wrongly understands and explains the words of the Lord's Supper; also two sermons on the validity of the sacraments." Printed in German by Thomas Wolff at Basle in 1526. It is the second part of this title which concerns us here. The text of the Latin title is: "Apologetica Joan(is) Oecolampadii; de dignitate eucharistiae sermones duo; ad Theobaldum Billicanum, quinam in verbis coenae alienum sensum inferant; ad ecclesiastas Suevos antisyngramma." Printed at Zurich by Christopher Froschauer, 1526. Here again the two sermons are given in the part represented by the "sermones duo" and not in the part written to Billican about which we shall have cause to speak later. The Latin text for these two sermons can be found in Staehelin: Briefe u. Akten...Oekolampads, documents numbers 314 and 315. The German text of Hetzer's preface is given in Staehelin, op. cit., No. 419, dated August 5, 1526. The first part of this book was reprinted at Augsburg in 1526 by Philip Ulhart. See Karl Schottenloher: P. Ulhart, 1921, p. 128. Ulhart published separately Hetzer's second part, "Zwen schön sermon" at Augsburg in the same year.

200 *Conrad Pellican* (Kürsner); b. 1478; 1493, Franciscan; from 1502, Lector in the Franciscan Cloister in Basle; 1526, at Zurich as Professor of Hebrew; d. 1556.

for many years. [201] Again Hetzer went to the home of his host, Oecolampadius, where he retained his former position. [202] Here he remained for about a month probably occupied with his various translations.

On February 1, 1526, Oecolampadius wrote a letter in reply to the Syngramma to Theobald Billican. [203] This Oecolampadius had printed soon after together with his two stirring sermons on the Lord's Supper at Christopher Froschauer's in Zurich, with the title: "Apologetica Joann(is) Oecolampadii: de dignitate eucharistiae sermones duo; at Theobaldum Billicanum, quinam in verbis coenae alienum sensum inferant; ad ecclesiastas Suevos antisyngramma." During the same year Hetzer translated this book into German, wrote a preface for it, and had it published by Thomas Wolff at Basle, 1526, with the following title: "On the Lord's Supper; Proof from evangelical writings as to who wrongly understands and explains the words of the Lord's Supper; also two sermons on the validity of the sacraments, written in Latin by Johannes Oecolampadius, translated into German for the Christian public by Ludwig Hetzer." "Von nachtmal: beweisung ausz evangelischen schrifften, wer sie seyen, so des Herren nachtmalswort unrecht verstanden und auszlegen; item zwo predigen vor hochwirdigkeyt des sacra-

201 Corp. Ref., Vol. 95; No. 435; p. 489 f. Staehelin: Briefe...Oekolampads, No. 322. Letter of Oecolampadius to Zwingli, dated Basle, January 1, 1526. This famous old letter was photographically reproduced in the Jubiläumswerk of Ulrich Zwingli, 1919, table 79. This letter seems to hint of another trip on the part of Hetzer to Zurich as does the letter of January 12, 1526. (Staehelin, No. 325; Corp. Ref., Vol. 95, No. 438, p. 496 ff.) where greetings are sent to Hetzer and Wilhelm von Zell. On December 29, 1525, before Hetzer arrived at Basle, Oecolampadius wrote again to Zwingli sending his greetings to Hetzer. Staehelin, op. cit. No. 317; Corp. Ref., No. 430; p. 480 f.

202 Hetzer to Zwingli from Basle, December 30, 1525. See Appendix. Z. S. W., VIII., pp. 482-483. Oecolampadius had written to Zwingli, November 26: quod si te neglexerit, fac sciam. Keim, p. 228.

203 *Theobaldus Gernolt* or Gerlacher *of Billigkeim* in the Pfalz was matriculated September 5, 1510, at Heidelberg. In 1520 he was Prior of the College of Arts there. 1522 on, he was a reformer at Weil and Nördlingen. Later he was Professor of Rhetoric at Marburg where he died, 1554.

ments, beschutz weysz im Latein beschriben durch Joan (nem) Ecolampadium, christlicher gemein zü nutz verdeutscht durch Ludwig Hätzer." His preface bears the date of August 5, 1526. [204]

7. Final Visit to Zurich.

About the middle of February, Hetzer returned to Zurich where he became proof-reader and corrector with the firm of Christopher Froschauer. Here during February and March, he completed his translation of the "Danck-sagung" and here, later in the year, the translation of Zwingli's response to Bugenhagen as well as the anti-Swabian writings of Zwingli and Oecolampadius were printed. [205]

His stay at Zurich was not destined to be long and his reconciliation with Zwingli was of doubtful value and of short duration. Probably he was overawed by Zwingli's clear foresight and his justly balanced words—and thus, for a little while, he was uncertain and lacked confidence in his own Anabaptist beliefs. But with the passage of time,—with a better acquaintance with Oecolampadius and Zwingli, and the methods of Zwingli, he found that his own ideas concerning the Anabaptist faith were more satisfactory to him.

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204 This preface is given in Staehelin: Briefe und Akten...Oekolampads, No. 419.

205 Oecolampadius to Zwingli, February 9th (Z. S. W., VIII.: 521-522); March 7th (Z. S. W., VIII.: 534-536). Keim cannot decide whether Zwingli's anti-Bugenhagen "Antwort uff die Epistel J. Pugenhagens" (Answer to Johann Bugenhagen's Letter) printed by Froschauer in 1526 was translated by Hetzer or not. Corp. Ref., Vol. 95., No. 449, pp. 521 ff. Oecolampadius wanted his books to be printed by Andreas Cratander at Basle, but Cratander could not get permission to print them, so Oecolampadius was forced to fall back on Froschauer at Zurich where a more liberal spirit prevailed. Staehelin: Briefe...Oekolampads, No. 333, written at Basle, February 9, 1526, speaks of this transaction with Cratander and it also speaks of Hetzer's possible position with Froschauer.

Chapter XIV.

Hetzer's Preface to His Translation of "The Sacrament of the Eucharist".

The confession of Hetzer's own personal beliefs came to light finally in his translation of the book of Oecolampadius. Once again he found himself. He found, moreover, that he was no longer a follower of Zwingli but an Anabaptist. The full title of this book was: "On the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Explanation of the true natural meaning of the words of Christ: THIS IS MY BODY, according to the very ancient teachers, in Latin, written by Johannes Oecolampadius, translated into German by Ludwig Hetzer. O God release the captives! 1526." "Vom Sacrament der Dancksagung. Von dem waren natuerlichen verstand der worten Christi: DAS IST MEIN LEIB, nach der gar alten Lerern erklärung; jm Latein bschriben durch Jo. Ecolampadium, verteütscht durch Ludvigen Hätzer. O Gott, erlös die gefangnen. MDXXVI."

In the preface of this book he wrote that because his flesh was so fragile, and because he was so very sick, he would not have printed the book, if some pious brothers had not been very insistent. [206]

In translating this book ("poor sinner" that he was) he felt himself called upon by all of his brothers and sisters "to exterminate the errors of the unbelievers, and to unmask the insults towards God of those who ignorantly reviled the Lord's Supper." He sought to give "to the poor widow with her two mites" what the learned and godly Oecolampadius had written with such

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206 This preface is given in Staehelin: Briefe und Akten...Oekolampads, No 319. Christopher Froschauer, the publisher of this book, wrote in his (publisher's) preface: "Und also hat ich vilen zü dienst disz büch in uszlendischer gemeiner spraach, wie er von Lud(wig) Hätzer gschriben ist, getruckt, damit es ouch andere verston mögind, die unsrer spraach zü Zürich nit gewont habend."... "Datum und getruckt zü Zürich in unserem husz zum Wyngarten, anno MDXXVI." Staehelin, ibid., No. 320.

sweetness as a true scholar and a man of God. [207]

"Nobody cared to combat the old doctrines until they were found to be erroneous." But now, he declared, things have changed. "Who would not be thought a fool if, after having mistaken for a long time a piece of red glass for a ruby,and after having found that it was only red glass—still wished to believe that it was a precious ruby? If Error is old and if she is ornamented with beautiful colors how much more should we rejoice when God exposes her!" [208]

Moreover that everybody may see that we are not teaching a new error "I have been very much pleased to translate this book into German because the earliest Christians understood this doctrine just as we teach it." [209]

We have sought to prove nothing by dogma and we do not wish to do so because the lessons which we have taught are backed by clear biblical passages. Futhermore the spirit, the faith, the best teachings in all the Scriptures, cannot be proven by dogma. Many scold and blame Oecolampadius saying he does not understand the dogma properly, but they do not scare anyone. Truth cannot be hidden. [210]

The old teaching in regard to the Lord's Supper was based upon superstition and idolatry. And yet it has always been a serious error to believe that the purely physical body and blood of Christ are in the bread and wine. For this is quite obviously opposed to the common faith which declares that Christ shall mount up into the heavens and sit at the right of God, and it is even contrary to the papal doctrines themselves which admit that Christ is in heaven on the right hand of the Father. Also to say that the whole pile of impious ecclesiastics have forgiven sins, that

[207] Preface to his translation.
[208] Ibid.
[209] Ibid.
[210] From his Preface.

in receiving the eucharist they have obtained the removal of all sins, is an insult to God and a real frustration of his salvation. Christ said: Whoever believes in me shall be saved. He did not say: Whoever receives the sacraments shall be saved. No! Only a strong, firm faith—which does not come without the coming of love—will save thee. Only a faith in the sorrows of Christ and in the innumerable mercies of God will make thee immortal. [211]

We ought to know, moreover, that the spirit of God is the bond [212] which joins us to God—and it is the sign of all Christians. This is proven by Paul—the messenger of Jesus to many places: The spirit of God does not dwell in us and we are not Christians if the spirit does not cry in us: Father, Father. With this spirit all the believers are sealed until the day of redemption. Then we shall have the spiritual knowledge that we are children of God. And the true sign is the blessed assurance of a merciful and loving Father in heaven. Whoever does not find this sign in himself, whoever has not in his heart the temple of the Holy Spirit, will neither be assured nor consoled no matter with what sign he may be possessed. For all false signs will only make him a great hypocrite. [213]

How can Christ remain seated at the right hand of God if he is continually being executed everywhere in the Sacrament? Moreover through the magic of the sacrament of the eucharist the priest commands God.

Soon everyone will have his opinion of these words: THIS IS MY BODY. There will be as many views of this as there are heads.

The first declares that the body was in the bread while Jesus was seated at the table and that the traitor Judas also received it.

The next: that his body was a clarified body. Thus

[211] From his Preface.
[212] or token.
[213] From his preface.

the disciples received another body as we do.

A third forbids us to investigate and only wishes us to believe, and wishes to hypnotize us and make fools of us.

The fourth says: only believers receive it bodily,—the unbelievers not at all. He thus makes a strange Promethus out of Chist; which is a true misery and raillery.

Finally, after these, there are great scholars [214] who turn about freely with their faith, and say: "believe as the church wishes you to believe—that is what I believe," (even though at some other occasion they have written otherwise: namely that the Lord's Supper, is nothing but a reminder of the sins of our mortal body and of the blood poured out for us by Jesus Christ.) Those who say this make a public testimony before all the members of Christ, that they are among those who have an immovable faith and a firm belief, that they are delivered from evil and reconciled with God, and that they forever hold firm in the inseparable love, as is fitting for the members of a body. [215]

* * * * *

Now, however, not only the great scholars but also the simple Christians (to whom God has given his spirit richly) are able to judge without hesitation. The scholars work for the prolongation of this strife, especially those who hide their own opinions. Therefore, in these later times, concerning the hidden judgments of God (which are a deep valley) we ought not to trust to the opinions of other persons, but hold to the unique Word of God. [216]

Do not let yourselves grieve, Hetzer cries to the evangelical people, for even if many scurvy preachers vaunt themselves and their titles and their triumphs, they are not necessarily evangelical preachers. Why? Because they

[214] i. e. Erasmus, etc.
[215] From his preface.
[216] Ibid.

do not preach Christ crucified. They preach licentiousness and carnal spirit and the assurance of external things of which they are able to assure nothing. In short, they only preach to suit themselves—these who feel themselves so well placed at the table at the Lord's Last Supper. [217]

Hetzer furthermore declares that if he has failed through his own labor, the reader must not accuse Oecolampadius;—for, he said, Oecolampadius did not ask him to translate the work. But he hopes and prays that Oecolampadius will judge him kindly and, with other scholars, will give him a good testimonial for the zeal which he has used to interpret this. [218]

* * * * *

Together with the question of the Lord's Supper he speaks also of the revolt of the peasants. Many cry out loudly: "One ought to be careful in these dangerous times which are so full of revolt and discontent." Yes, certainly, it is a most terible time,—when evil has taken the upper hand and love has grown cold,—when the good-for-nothings are chosen because they say what the world loves to hear. Yet ought one—because of the evil times—to be silent about the truth? No. The greater the fire, the more need there is to stop the fire. The rebels do not like to hear the cries of the evangelists any more than the papists do. As if with their cries of revolt they wish entirely to protect themselves! Let them cease to lead people against us. What will happen if free course is given to this error? Will there not be a new compulsion of persons? Shall we not become once again servants of men?

Men who are courageous, strong and powerful with the Word of God will place themselves against all the rebels and they will act without fear for their own bodies.

Hetzer's feeble body found that times were bad—but this was not the fault of the truth—but of the lie—of

[217] From his preface.
[218] Ibid.

the mother of revolt. [219]

This preface was not written by Hetzer as an apology. For he soon afterwards agreed that fomerly he had been accused of being an Anabaptist. We have seen that previously Hetzer had combated re-baptism and had avowed his scruples against the baptism of children. Now he said: "As I have been informed on the 9th day of November at Zurich by the learned, honorable servant of Christ, Huldrich Zwingli, I willingly abandon said opinion, as long as baptism is employed as a sign of witness." But it is noteworthy that he did not trouble himself to combat reports which bore upon his relations to the Anabaptists.

He continues: As soon as we turn from the evangelical orthodox opinions, we are scolded for fools, revolters and heretics. If we are fools it is because Christ was a fool. But this does not prove that we are revolters. We are fools with Christ willingly, however, and like the early Christians we are heretics.

I pray to God . . . that in carnal souls Christ will create and illumine the eternal fire of his love, the sole court-robe of all Christians. Even if today there is no Abel without a Cain; no Jacob without an Esau; no David without a Saul; no Elisha without a Jezebel; no Christ without a Judas; no Peter without a Herod; no Paul without a Nero; God loves us just the same: —yes, the old God of Israel—the ruler of the earth—will not let us be overcome. *He gives to all of us a free, constant spirit and an unflinching heart in all trouble. May this remain true.* [220]

The above long preface to his translation of "The Sacrament of the Eucharist" was apparently written and signed in Zurich where the book was printed.

[219] From his preface.
[220] From his preface.

Chapter XV.

Hetzer Leaves Zurich and Basle. The Translation of Malachi.

1. The end of Hetzer's last visit to Zurich.

Hetzer had put himself in an inextricable situation which all too soon became insupportable to him, and he sought again the old road, from which death alone delivered him.

His truce with Zwingli was short-lived for he soon became more intimate than ever with his former Anabaptist companions. He had meanwhile bettered his position but he ended by being exiled from Zurich once again. For a few weeks he disappeared wholly from sight. During some of this time, however, he was sick—how seriously we cannot say. For in his letter of March 7, 1526, Oecolampadius mentions the fact that since both Hetzer and Zwingli are sick they will not be able personally to oversee the printing of his book at Froschauer's and so he sent Zwingli a list of corrections the details of which he left to Hetzer to arrange. [221]

For some weeks after the 7th of March neither Zwingli nor Oecolampadius have a word to say about Hetzer. His sickness or lack of work at Froschauer's may have caused him to have been discharged. But doubtless he remained in hiding either in or near Zurich where he probably became affiliated once again with his Anabaptist friends. Later he was obliged to leave Zurich. [222]

After the authorities at Zurich decided, on the 7th of March, 1526, to imprison for life the obstinate Ana-

[221] Corp. Ref., Vol. 95, No. 456, pp. 534 ff, and Staehelin : Briefe . . . Oekolampads, No. 340.

[222] Getreue Warnung der Prediger des Evangelii zu Strasbourg über die Artikel, so Jac. Kautz, Prediger zu Wormbs, kürzlich hat lassen ausgehen, etc. Strasbourg, 2 July 1527. Mus. Helvet. VI 107.: "Ludwig Hätzer attempted to persuade us, as he had already done in Zurich, that he was not an Anabaptist." And Capito wrote to Zwingli, Sept. 21, 1527: puto omnes frigere in contumeliis dicendis collatos Hezero, tam impudenter in te mentitur. Keim, p. 259.

baptists on a diet of bread and water, and to punish with death by drowning all those who fomented new revolts. Hetzer must have decided to leave. A few months after this time (July 18, 1526) he used the most passionate terms in his preface to his translation of the prophet Malachi, against the scholars who ardently boast of their knowledge of the Scriptures; who believe that they alone possess the key to the kingdom of God. Thus it will be seen, Zwingli must have decided once again to point his two-edged sword officially against Hetzer.

2. Basle Again.

Once more Hetzer headed for Basle where he was still received by Oecolampadius. During May and June of this year a public disputation was held at Baden—a famous watering place—strong in its Roman sympathies—some 12 miles north west of Zurich. The representatives of the Bishop of Baden under semblance of fairness and impartiality desired to condemn the reformers and the Swiss Reformed churches, especially Zwingli and Zurich, for their opposition to the Roman church. The specific object of the disputation was to reply to the Zurich disputation of 1523. Zwingli did not attend, but Oecolampadius of Basle, Haller of Bern and Oeschsli of Schaffhausen carried on the debate with Dr. Johann Eck. The debate lasted four weeks and both sides claimed the victory. [223] Hetzer must have requested permission of the City Council of Basle to attend. This was given him on condition that he pay his own expenses. [224] But he appears to have remained in Basle. He had little

[223] Jackson, p. 270 f.

[224] Staehelin: Briefe und Akten...Oekolampads, No. 370. Emil Dürr: Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Basler Reformation in den Jahren 1519 bis Anfang 1534, Vol. 2, p. 330 f. No. 396. "From the City Council of Basle to their ambassador in Baden concerning Oecolampadius and the other theologians of Basle." Tilman Limperger was not allowed to go on account of sickness, but Lüthard, Immeli and Hetzer were permitted to go; Hetzer, however, was to pay his own way.

hope that he would be allowed to remain here very long as his preface clearly shows. Immediately therefore, he undertook "the translation of Malachi written by a dear and pious brother,—the scholarly and indefatigable Johannes Oecolampadius." [225]

Hetzer had this printed at Basle. The most remarkable thing about this translation is that he did not violate the strong position of Oecolampadius against the Anabaptists.

The full title of this book is: "The Prophet Malachi with explanations by Johannes Oecolampadius, written by him in Latin, and with diligence translated into German by Ludwig Hetzer. 1526." "Der prohet Maleachi mit ausslegung Joan. Ecolampadii, durch jn im latein beschriben, mit fleyss verdeütscht durch Ludwig Hätzer. 1526." [226]

On the back fly-leaf is to be found: "Printed at Basle by Thomas Wolff, 1526." "Getruckt zu Basel durch Thom. Wolff 1526." The book must have been popular because it ran through several editions. For example there was an edition in Quarto without place or printer, a third in 1526, and a fourth in Folio by Ottmar at Augsburg in 1527.

The true character of Hetzer's soul is beautifully revealed to us in his own words from this preface to the Prophet Malachi: "But if thou art an humble spirit, if thou searchest the Word of God, then the Spirit will descend upon thee and shelter thee with his wings." "Du aber sey eines demüthigen Geistes, fürchte dich ob Gottes Reden, so wird der Geist auf dir rasten und dich mit seinen Fittigen beschättigen."

[225] The city library at Winterthur possesses a letter written by Oecolampadius to Ludwig Hetzer, dated April 29, 1526. The author has not seen this letter.

[226] Hetzer's preface to this work is to be found in Staehelin: Briefe und Akten...Oekolampads, No. 413. This preface is dated by Hetzer at Basle, July 18, 1526.

His sojourn at Basle must have been a short one at most—for although the preface to Malachi is full of the praises of Oecolampadius and although the book was printed at Basle one learns from it that Hetzer was not settled there, for he said: "If the heavenly Father is merciful to me—and allows me sufficient health and abode, I will also—with his help—translate the mighty prophet Isaiah." [227]

Sometime during the Spring of this same year, 1526, probably while still at Basle, he went to visit Hans Denck at Augsburg where the first general meeting of the Anabaptist leaders took place. These leaders were Denck, Hetzer, Hut, Jacob Gross, Caspar Färber [228] and Balthazar Hübmeier. Hübmeier presided and Färber acted as a counselor. This meeting took place at the home of Hans Denck in his little house near the Holy Cross Gate. [229]

This gathering was of the first importance to the whole Anabaptist movement, for here it was that the Anabaptist party was organized. Heretofore the movement had been one of small unorganized communities having very little intercourse one with another. Now at length the party was, one might say, incorporated. Joachim Vadian (who had access to the most up to the moment developments of the Anabaptist party) said in the year 1540 that Hübmeier, Denck, Hetzer and Grebel were the *founders* of the reformed Apostolic Brethren. [230] Moreover Sebastian Frank declares: In the year 1526 there was raised

[227] "so mich der himmlische Vater begnadete, mir so viel Leibs und Statt vergönnend, wollt ich auch mit seiner Hilfe den gewaltigen Propheten Iesaja verdollmetschen."

[228] From the valley of the Inn.

[229] Keller: Reform., p. 424. Hans Hut declared publicly that he had had no intention of being baptized—but that in the Spring of 1526 he was baptized by Denck at the demand of Färber.

[230] Joachim Vadiani Epistola ad Jo. Zuiccium, Constantiensem Cal. Aug. MDXL. This letter may be found in Füssli: Beyträge (1753) V. p. 396. Füssli remarks in regard to this letter: "that all four (Hetzer, Denck, Hübmeier and Grebel) were learned and able persons." Keller: Reform., pp. 415-417.

a new party "whose leaders and bishops were Dr. Balthazar Hübmeier, Melchior Rink, Joh. Hut, Joh. Denck and Ludwig Hetzer." Frank continues: No sooner were they organized than "the course of the Anabaptists went so rapidly that their doctrine soon penetrated the whole land and they soon attained a great following, baptized many thousands, and attracted to themselves many good hearts." [231]

Finally, in July 1527, Zwingli, who had been, as we have seen, an intimate friend of Hetzer, declared in his book "Against Anabaptist Tricks" that Denck, Hetzer and Kautz were the real leaders. [232]

At least we may say that under the guidance of Hetzer and Denck the new Anabaptist party was formed in Augsburg in the Spring of 1526 and from this moment the Anabaptist party began to spread with great rapidity throughout Switzerland, Southern Germany, Austria and even to Moravia.

* * * * *

At this point let us consider the prefaces of the two books which Hetzer translated and which he had printed during the summer of this year, 1526.

Here follows his preface to his German translation of the prophet Malachi:

"Ludwig Hetzer wishes to all men knowledge of the true love through Jesus Christ."

"Justly shall a man wonder about the deep godly wisdom, and pratice with earnest delight the law of his Lord, since the gospel declares that we shall get comfort from the help of the Spirit, in order that we may have refreshment through patience in times of ill-humor, anxiety and suffering, says Paul. (Romans 15:4) For how can

[231] Weis: Hans Denck, etc., p. 6.

[232] Zwingli's works. Keller: Reform., p. 417. During the next year, 1528, (Grebel having died of the plague in 1526 and Manz having suffered the martyr's death in 1527) the leaders were Denck, Hut and Hetzer.

any Christian fail to have the greatest awe for the Word of God, as well as for the Holy Spirit, of whom it is written: whose words are so precious, that no smallest dot is placed there in vain? How, then, shall we not thank the Father of all consolation, who turns his face so graciously to us, who opens to us the secret treasures of the Holy Scriptures?" Oh, that everyone might have a true knowledge of the scriptures so that we might glorify God most perfectly! May he enlighten us!

"As an earnest, diligent Christian finds the spirit of God in all spiritual writings, likewise he will find it here also in this brief and small book of the prophet Malachi," which comprises very nearly in a "nutshell" the law and the gospel. With small labor thou mayest learn here about prophetical writings, as there is a frankness here, used sublimely. And the priests who were then the leaders did not spare at all but denounced with a free, courageous spirit, and earnestly punished the covetousness and foolishness of the people. Other important points which our prophet treats (providence, ingratitude, hypocricy, etc.) I will be silent about as anyone will easily understand them and in that way get the desire to read other prophets. Take up my work with pleasure, dear Christian, particularly my dear, pious brothers, but let it serve a good purpose through you and all men.

I pray thee, that if thou wishest to offer thanks to the Lord, do so because he shares so generously his goods with his creatures, and gives us people who can be occupied with the translation of the Prophets, among whom the pious Johannes Oecolampadius, whose name is Hausscheyn (i. e. candle), is not the least. May his adversaries leave him time from his other affairs so that he can apply himself to the Prophets alone. Without doubt the Christian community would obtain great benefit thereby, and clearly see how many tamper with the scriptures. "But if thou art an humble spirit, if thou searchest the Word of God,

then the Spirit will descend upon thee and shelter thee with its wings. Soon hereafter, if God allows, if the heavenly Father is merciful to me, and allows me sufficient health and abode, I will also, with his help, translate the mighty prophet Isaiah, with the commentary of Oecolampadius." Yet not my will, but thine, be done, O God.

It seems to me that if we read things which are neither fruitful nor true holy scripture we fail to learn of God's good will to us and we get nothing spiritual out of our reading. The Prophets have written, however, of a proper trust in God and of salvation for our souls, and also of future grace which is provided for us through Christ, not on account of evil, said Peter (I Peter 1:12) but because of his love for us, that we may stand fast and fully in the grace which is prepared for us. Therefore let us listen to the truth, in order to purify our souls, and with undying love forbear one another with pure hearts, without falsity and craftiness, but rather like little children; thus we can learn of the Father. Then truly, God will make his word plain to the poor, the anxious and those who are in difficulty. He is an enemy to all those who are placed here in pomp and pride, but to the humble he is gracious. (I Peter 5:5). He wishes to comfort us and redeem us from all followers of the letter of the law, as Jesus Christ explains the scriptures with forceful commentary, giving us a proper understanding of his Word and removing all difficulties: may this soon happen. "For his Word is a fire," as Jeremiah said. (Jeremiah 5:14).

God will bless thee and in all difficulties he will comfort thee. Amen. Pray to God for me.

Given on the 18th day of July, 1526.

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Here follows Hetzer's preface to his German translation of the letter to Billican and the two Lord's Supper sermons:

"Ludwig Hetzer wishes the reader to have a comfort-

ing knowledge of the truth of God through Christ."

My opinion hasn't changed of the former book (God be praised) which I translated into German: "Of the True Meaning of the Words: This Is My Body." This book "has defended an honest cause and incontestably has made clear the truth to fit the needs of all the uninformed and has worked to the disadvantage of the worldly-wise and false scholars. It is plain what the old teachings mean, and Christ cannot be invoked, prayed to and honored in the bread without receiving what is only due to his and our heavenly Father, as is alleged and fully proven in the above-mentioned book;" yes, so strongly and clearly has this been done that many of those who are still comforted with the old teaching will surely call the author a heretic and a rebel. But you can easily see, dear reader, that the opinion of the worldly-wise does not serve their case and will send nobody to the stake. Continue, therefore, to eat the bread freely a little longer; this will be easier the longer one continues to do so, and peace and light will continue to grow for those who will continue to receive them.

It was formerly taught, I say, according to the most ancient scholars that the Universal Church of Christ did not seek to enjoy Christ bodily in the bread. "And now, faithful reader, notice the words of the gospels themselves (if thou hast the genuine love of truth); namely, that the material, fleshly meaning is neither to be found in the divine writings nor in the Christian faith." Nothing fleshly is to be found in them (no matter how many people rage against this fact; no matter how many thousand evangelical scholars bluster against it); neither slander nor insult can change it. But wherever the Word of God is may be found a real flame which smoulders like a burning cork. Formerly the truth was not bullied and made to serve one's pride; but now scholarly devils pull it helter-skelter to make their new ideas understood.

The devil rules those who are zealous against the gospel. They "would be glad to compel and force us to hold a new article of belief, that the church never has taught, concerning which Christ said nothing, which the true apostle did not teach us, which was unknown to all the prophets, and which does not comfort the conscience. And moreover, dear Christian, it seems that their zeal is not pleasing to God." It is lacking in truth. "Now, dear reader, lift up your eyes to honor God and read this booklet without prejudice, with earnestness and with reasonable judgment, and let the Lord influence thee. Consider, if thou hast not already done so, how sweet the truth is." Does not thy knowledge of God in heaven begin to make thee have more love and fear?

Give us grace, patience and a constant faith through the cross, and clothe us with the new man in his own likeness. May he protect us as we journey through this wretched life. Amen. Pray to God for me.

Given on the 5th day of August, 1526 [233]

[233] From Hetzer's Preface, to be found in full in Staehelin: Briefe und Akten ...Oekolampads, No. 419.

Chapter XVI.

Ludwig Hetzer and Hans Denck at Strasbourg.

Sometime during the latter part of the summer of 1526 Ludwig Hetzer left the home of his good friend and host, Oecolampadius, at Basle and followed the Rhine down to Strasbourg. He found asylum here at the home of the easy-going and hospitable *Wolfgang Capito.* [234]

Both Oecolampadius and Capito were Zwinglians who had Anabaptist leanings. At least deep down in their hearts they were quite sympathetic with the Anabaptist point of view even though neither of them openly espoused the cause. Yet neither of them was carried away by the Anabaptist teachings and when the time for decision came they sided with Zwingli and dropped their Anabaptist friends. Possibly because of his Anabaptist leanings Capito extended his hospitality to Hetzer or perhaps it may have been because they had similar scholarly interests and a common Alma Mater, Freiburg. At all events Hetzer was welcomed as a scholar and a friend and was taken into Capito's home as his guest.

It is interesting to pause here for a moment to note what Hetzer's contemporaries thought of him. For instance, Valerius Anshelm, a friend of Vadianus, wrote in the book of the Orders of the Magistrates of Bern, when he was town doctor there in 1526, that Grebel and Manz with Hans Denck, Ludwig Hetzer and Dr. Balthazar

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[234] *Wolfgang Capito* (b. at Hagenau, 16 miles north of Strasbourg, 1478; d. at Strasbourg in November 1541) was the son of a blacksmith named Koepfel, whence the Latin name Capito. He studied at Pforzheim, Ingolstadt and Freiburg taking degrees in medicine, law and theology. He was appointed, May 1523, provost of St. Thomas' church at Strasbourg, a position obtained by the favor of Pope Leo X. In 1524 he married and became preacher at the church of St. Pierre le Jeune at Strasbourg. He was intimately associated with the reformers Martin Bucer and Jacob Sturm, both outstanding men in Strasbourg in his day. Capito is characterized not only by mildness and large-heartedness but also by a certain timidity and uncertainty in regard to his theological and ecclesiastical positions. Be it said to the honor of Capito, however, that eventually "amazed at the steadfastness with which the condemned Anabaptists met their death" he "questioned whether after all it was not the Holy Spirit within them which gave them such strength." (Capito: Apologia pro Anabaptistis.)

Hübmeier were the "foremost orators to be found". [235]

Strasbourg at that time served as a place of refuge to all theological and religious malcontents, and thus there were numerous refugees to be found there;—persons persecuted by the Roman Catholics, the Lutherans and the Zwinglians. For example, Strasbourg served as an asylum for Karlstadt, Hübmeier, Schwenckfeld, and Hofmann. The refugees were not molested in general as long as they conducted themselves properly and did not imperil the safety of the inhabitants. [236]

A very considerable diversity of religious thinking, indeed, had been tolerated. Within the city, "the submerged stream of mystical teaching ran deep," and besides the new Anabaptist community, since the time of Meister Eckhart and John Tauler, various spiritual brotherhoods, such as "The Brethren of the Free Spirit" and "The Friends of God" had flourished there. [237]

The apostolic community was founded at Strasbourg in 1524, and during the next two years, 1525-1526, the following Anabaptist leaders were to be found here: Jacob Gross, Matthias Heller of St. Gall, Albrecht Wanner of Selestat, Michael Erler from Etschthal, Michael Sattler from Staufen and *Pilgrim Marbeck* from the Tyrol [238]

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[235] Valerius Anshelm: Berner Chronick bis 1526, published by E. Stierlin, Bern, 1833, Vol. VI., p. 267. This chronicle is neither accurate nor impartial towards the Anabaptists but in this instance it is deemed trustworthy.

[236] Weis: Hans Denck, pp. 40-41. Roehrich: Geschichte der Reformation im Elsass, Vol. I. p. 336 ff.

[237] Coutts, Hans Denck, p. 61. Rufus M. Jones, etc.

[238] *Pilgrim Marbeck* was an Anabaptist leader, author and engineer. He was born at Rothenburg-on-the-Inn in the Tyrol about the end of the 15th century, and he died in or near Augsburg in 1547. Brought up a Roman Catholic, in 1522 or 1523 he became a Lutheran. He told Martin Bucer that in 1525 he "accepted baptism as a witness of faith, having regard in this solely to God's Word and command." He became an expert mining engineer and was employed by the Austrian government. But in order to avoid arrest as an Anabaptist he went to Augsburg in 1528. But since persecution had already begun there in October of that year he went to Strasbourg where his engineering skill was employed. "Marbeck's force of character, attractive personality, intellectual vigor, blameless Christian walk, literary skill, and generosity brought him marked con-

Wilhelm Reubli, the many sided well-educated physician Otto Brunfels who joined the community here, Jacob Vielfeldt (Polychorius or Multicampanus) the learned translator of Latin classics, Johann Bünderlein from Linz, and the gardener Clemens Ziegler.

Under the leadership of these notable scholars and devoted men the Anabaptist party made quite a remarkable progress in members and influence during the years 1525-1526. The community was brought to maturity in the early months of 1526 by an energetic man named Jacob Gross.[239] Gross taught that according to the gospels children should not be baptized but that *baptism* should be administered as a sign of faith; that one should not take *oaths;* and that believers should not use the *sword* either against the authorities or against their neighbors.

Summoned before the authorities, Gross declared that he had been baptized at Waldshut in 1524, but that he had left there of his own free will in order not to go with the rebellious peasants to Zell. When questioned as to whether he acknowledged the authority of the magistrates, he answered that he was prepared to obey their orders and that personally he would never act against them. He was then dressed in armor and a spear was placed in his hand. To this he made no objection, but declared however, "to kill people is not written as a command of God."[240] Since nothing was found against him he was at length set free.

But when Gross was questioned at a later hearing in

sideration among his fellow believers and at first won the highest praise from the leading Evangelical pastors, Bucer, Capito, Zell and Blaurer." The publication of two books in support of his position led to his imprisonment (October 1531) but so valuable was his engineering skill that he was liberated. He defended the Anabaptist position in 28 articles against Bucer. He was banished, however, as a consequence, and went to Ulm and Augsburg where he became the guiding spirit of the Anabaptist congregations until his death in 1547.

239 Anna Brons, pp. 408-410.

240 Brons, 409: "aber die Leut' todt zuschlagen, das sei in kein Gebot Gottes geschrieben."

the presence of *Martin Bucer,*[241] as to whether an authority who carried a sword was a Christian, he said: "If Bucer wants to have a hand in this affair, I will not submit to him, yet I will submit to the judgment of the Lord God."[242] He confessed that the worldly authority of the sword is necessary to punish sin, and it is good as a defense and an aid. He repeated that he would obey the authorities in everything except when they ordered him to do anything contrary to God's Word, as for example to kill anybody. Moreover he could not give oath to the authorities since the fifth chapter of Matthew forbade the use of oaths. Because of these facts, Jacob Gross was exiled from Strasbourg.[243] *Michael Sattler* of Staufen[244] (who was decapitated as an Anabaptist martyr the following Spring in the village of Rottenburg-on-the-Neckar where Reubli was born) then took his place as teacher and leader of the apostolic community at Strasbourg and Denck and Hetzer joined him there.

At first Hetzer, as an Anabaptist refugee, very care-

241 *Martin Bucer* (or Butzer) was born at Selestat in Alsace, November 11, 1491 and he died at Cambridge, England, February 28, 1551. He was educated in the renowned Latin School of his native town. In 1523 he went to Strasbourg where he became associated with Zell, Hedio and Capito. He was a preacher at the church of St. Aurelia from 1524 to 1531 and at St. Thomas from 1531 to 1540. At first he was a Zwinglian, but after 1532 he leaned toward Lutheranism.

242 "Die Butzer wolle ime die Hand in dem Sak wüschen, solchs stand nit by ime, dock stelle er solch urtel Gott dem Herrn anheim."

243 Brons, 409.

244 *Michael Sattler* was a leader of the South German Anabaptists. He was born at Staufen near Freiburg in Breisgau about 1500 and was executed at Rottenburg-am-Neckar, May 20 or 21, 1527. Apparently he studied at Freiburg. The reading of the Pauline epistles convinced him that he could not remain a Roman Catholic and in 1523 he went to Zurich where he became an Anabaptist. He was banished from Zurich, November 18, 1525, and returned to his native town whence he was also banished but was received hospitably by Capito at Strasbourg. In 1526 he went with Wilhelm Reubli to Hohenberg and developed great Anabaptist activity in the vicinity of Horb. At Schlatt-on-the-Rand he took part (February 24, 1527) in a great mass meeting at which he formulated in 7 articles the doctrines and constitution of the South German Anabaptists. On his return to Horb, Sattler and his wife were arrested. (see Chapter 18). This evoked the sympathy of Capito, Bucer and others. An account of his martyrdom is given below. (Chapter 18).

fully avoided any suspicious conduct and indeed took pains to praise the liberality of Strasbourg concerning the baptism of children.[245] He very wisely avoided going to Anabaptist meetings or carrying on any Anabaptist propaganda. Soon, however, Hetzer encountered Sattler who gave him news of the brethren. He found also that Wilhelm Reubli, an old Zurich acquaintance, had been there during the first half of the year, but that he had been obliged to leave. While at Strasbourg, Hetzer is said to have disclaimed any connection with the "factious unreasonable sect of the Anabaptists,"[246] and yet at this very time, 1525-1526, Denck and Hetzer were the leading organizers of the apostolic community, and the bulk of the direction of the whole Anabaptist party fell upon their shoulders.[247]

Hetzer shared Capito's hospitality with Michael Sattler[248] and Martin Cellarius.[249] The latter was an Anabaptist from Stuttgart, and a strong Zwinglian sympathizer, who had succeeded Hetzer as the leader of the Anabaptists of Augsburg. According to the testimony of their enemies these three Anabaptists did not get along very well together.[250] There may have been some measure of truth in such a statement but one is tempted to believe that many such reports were spread broadcast to discredit the Anabaptist leaders. It is said, for example, that Hetzer was particularly hostile to Cellarius.[251] This is not difficult to believe,—for soon after this time Cellarius openly and completely renounced his Anabaptist views and ostensibly became quite an orthodox theologian—which, indeed, partly accounts for his appointment later as professor of Old Testament at Basle.

We are a little puzzled by the reports of Hetzer's doctrinal position while he was at Strasbourg. We have seen that he was one of the first to be banished from Zurich for Anabaptist beliefs and teachings. We know also that he organized the Anabaptist party at Augsburg in 1524 and that in 1526 he met at the home of Denck with the chief leaders of that sect. Yet at Basle apparently he was silent concerning the Anabaptists. We have seen him at Zurich held passive by the eloquence and the influence of Zwingli. But this was only for a short time and eventually in his preface to the "Sacrament of the Eucharist" he displayed his true colors as an Anabaptist sympathizer. Almost immediately thereafter he had been obliged to leave Zurich and Basle.

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245 From the Faithful Warning. Hetzer "blessed God that the preachers (of Strasbourg) left baptism free, and said that if others had acted similarly in the matter, this error (Anabaptism) would not have gone so far". Quoted by Gerbert, p. 24. "Er lobte Gott, dass die Prediger die Taufe frei liessen, und sagte, so von andern in der Sache ebenso gehandelt würde, es mit diesem Irrthum (sc. Wiedertäufe) nicht soweit gekommen wäre."

246 Gerbert, p. 24. "rotter'schen unbilligen Secten der Widertäufer."

247 Gerbert, Chapter II.

248 Gerbert, p. 49.

249 *Martin Cellarius* (Borrhaus) was born at Stuttgart, 1499, and died at Basle, October 11, 1564. Being adopted and educated by his kinsman Simon Cellarius, he called himself Cellarius until about 40 years of age. although the real name of his parents seems to have been Burreas or Borrhaus. He receive the degree of M. A. at Tübingen in 1515, where he became intimately acquainted with Philip Melancthon, two years his senior. In 1521 he received the degree of Bachelor of Theology under Reuchlin at Ingolstadt. Because he sided with Marcus Stübner against Luther he was obliged to leave Wittenberg. For some time he travelled in Switzerland, Austria, Poland and Prussia. Later in 1526 he became more friendly with Luther. We next find him at Strasbourg, a guest of Capito. In 1527 he published his first work, *"De operibus Dei"*, to which Capito wrote a preface, and in this, Capito made the statement that he accepted the teachings of his friend. In 1544 he was appointed professor of Old Testament at Basle. He sided with Castello and Curio against Calvin in the Servetus controversy. He was a leader of the Anabaptist party both at Augsburg and Strasbourg, but in the later years of his life he separated from the Anabaptists and kept his own council. He rejected infant baptism but seems to have been a firm believer in predestination. Erasmus Alberus gives an interesting account of the conversion of Cellarius from Zwinglianism to Lutheranism. (See Evans, 102). Cellarius had heard Oecolampadius pray "if our teaching be true." No Christian should so doubt his own faith, said Cellarius. Rather should he say, "Lord God, thou knowest that I preach thy Word and do not uphold false teaching." Cellarius, therefore, changed to Lutheranism, where he might be certain of his ground. (See Enders: Dr. Martin Luther's Briefwechsel, II., p. 58, note 3).

250 Getrewe Warnung; Gerbert, p. 24.

251 Gerbert, p. 24. Capito to Zwingli, September 21, 1527. Z. S. W. Hetzerus hunc (sc. Cellarium) prae nobis traducit, quod commeruit in colloquio uno innocentiam tuam defendens. Nam puto omnes frigere in contumeliis dicendis collatos Hetzero, tam impudenter in Te mentitur.

When he arrived at Strasbourg, therefore, knowing that the gates of several Swiss cities and of Augsburg were closed to him, he was really in a very desparate situation. [252] Possessed of little ready money and of a reputation that barred many doors to him, he must have been overjoyed to have found a lodging at the home of Capito, who still esteemed him highly as a scholar. [253] In order to remain a welcome guest at the home of Capito he did not dare to speak freely concerning his ideas and beliefs. His contemporary, Sebastian Frank, said of him at that time: "He did not support the sermons of the preachers, nor did he agree with the Anabaptists in all things; *perhaps he disowned them because* (for the moment) *he was not interested in them.*" [254]

Similarly the Strasbourg clergy declared: "Ludwig Hetzer was not an Anabaptist when he was here, as he had previously been at Zurich. Afterwards he interested himself in Denck but would not admit that he was a disciple of his doctrine." [255]

Thus he passed a period of comparative quiet at the home of the broad-minded and good-natured Capito. But as his condition continued to improve,—as he received news from various Anabaptist friends—little by little he was drawn more closely into contact with the Anabaptists of Strasbourg, and his courage and his ambition again returned—though he still continued to speak cautiously about his Anabaptist views. [256]

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252 Gerbert, p. 45.

253 Zeitschrift f. d. histor. Theol. 1860, p. 37. Gerbert, p. 24. "Capito schätzte ihn speciell als gelehrten."

254 Gerbert, p. 45, quoting Frank: "Er (Hetzer) hielt nicht auf das äusserliche Predigtwort, den Täufern hing er auch nicht in allen Dingen an, etwan soll er ihrer verleugnet haben, sich ihrer gar nicht angenommen haben."

255 Gerbert, p. 45. "Ludwig Hetzer wollte bei uns, wie wohl er vorher zu Zürich sich anders erzeigt hat, kein Wiedertäufer sein.... Hernach hat er sich Denckeus angenommen, wollte aber nicht zu geben, dass er seiner Lehr anhängig wäre."

256 Gerbert, p. 46.

Here at the home of Capito, he was busily engaged with a translation and commentary of the prophet Isaiah. During the latter part of this same year, 1526, his friend Ottmar published it at Augsburg. The title was : "The 36th and 37th Chapters of the Prophet Isaiah, explained by Johannes Oecolampadius, translated by Ludwig Hetzer." ("das 36. und 37. cap. Jesaja des Propheten, ausgelegt durch J. Ecolampadium, übers. durch L. Hetzer.")

Hetzer soon found, however, that his knowledge of Hebrew was not as thorough nor as comprehensive as was needed for his translations—and here at Strasbourg, as a blessing of the divine Providence, in his uncertainty and in his need, "a man docile in the ways of God" was sent to aid him. [257] This was his friend, the gentle and lovable Humanist scholar, Hans Denck, [258] who had formerly been the rector of the famous St. Sebald's School at Nuremberg. [259] Denck appeared at Strasbourg in October or November, 1526, not long after Hetzer had arrived. It was Denck who had revived the Anabaptist party at Augsburg after Hetzer and Cellarius had left, and he had continued as its leader until it had become once more a flourishing party. He had been forced to leave Augsburg moreover, in just the same way that Hetzer had been obliged to leave—namely, because he had incurred the hostile jealousy of Urbanus Rhegius—and because he was drawn into a public disputation there. These two men, Hetzer and Denck having so much in common, being scholars, writers, translators, theological radicals, Unitarians, mystics and leaders of the Anabaptist party—had seen but little of each other until this time, but here at

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257 Preface to the Prophets.

258 Weis: Life, Teachings and Works of Johannes Denck.

259 Hetzer had become acquainted with Denck earlier at Nuremberg in 1524 and at Augsburg in the Spring of 1526 as we have seen. Keller (in his Reform.) seems to think that Denck and Hetzer were also together at Basle.

last at Strasbourg, Providence had thrown them together for their mutual advantage.[260] Thus the learned, talented, sweet-natured, spiritual Hans Denck became Hetzer's collaborator in the work of translating the Bible.

By this association Hetzer was unquestionably the greater gainer. From this time on his work as a translator improved in quality and his life took on more stability, more penetration, more depth. His daring and energetic mind probed the questions of theology of which Denck spoke to him. And under Denck's tutelage Hetzer's religious ideas, which had been most changeable, now began to be clear-cut and firm.

As we have seen, Hans Denck and Ludwig Hetzer had met at Nuremberg.[261] This meeting must have taken place in the summer of 1524, for Hetzer had left Zurich early that summer, bound for south Germany.[262] Keller believes however, that Denck and Hetzer had become acquainted in Basle, where both were engaged in reading proof for a publishing house.[263] If such is the case they must have read together much of the literature of humanism and of revolt which was then coming from the Basle presses, and it is not difficult to imagine the subject matter of their discussion when they met after two years. Their conversation could scarcely have failed to turn upon the religious innovations just then being persecuted at Nuremberg and Zurich. And Hetzer must certainly have acquainted Denck with the ideas of those people at Zurich who were opposing infant baptism, and who were urging

[260] One learns from the "True Warning" that Denck arrived after Hetzer at Strasbourg, as one may also see in the Preface to the Prophets. Denck appeared as working at Strasbourg in December, 1526. (Letters of Capito to Zwingli, Dec. 10, Z. S. W., VIII.: 798-800; and 26, 1526, Z. S. W., VIII.: 819-821). He was still working at Augsburg on the 22nd of August (Gynoreus to Zwingli, Z. S. W., VIII.: 688-690). But around the first of December he made a great disturbance in the church at Strasbourg.

[261] See notes 104 and 259.

[262] Letter of Zwingli to Frosch quoted above.

[263] Keller: Staupitz, p. 210.

upon Zwingli more radical action.[264]

After the two friends had worked together for some time translating Isaiah into German, Denck decided that they would not add any commentary. Futhermore, when they had finished Isaiah their tastes led them to continue with other Prophets in the same manner. The encouragements of many brothers and the irresistible pressure of the spirit pushed them irrevocably on. They decided to continue their translations to fit the needs of the people. Thus their work became a remarkable forerunner of Luther's translations.

In spite of the hours devoted to their translations, the two friends found the necessary time to spread abroad among the people of Strasbourg in the meetings of the Anabaptists their own particular views of the merits of Christ.[265] Denck's zeal, his eloquence, the extraordinary enthusiasm which animated his preaching, his pure, spotless life, his modesty, the dexterity of his intellect and the dignity of his personal bearing attracted the people in a wonderful manner and brought him numerous adherents.[266] This is the testimony given by Capito in a letter to Zwingli. Not only did Denck gain the confidence and the affection of the populace, but he was warmly received by Capito himself.[267]

Denck had been in Strasbourg only a few days when he took part in a conference on various religious questions with Capito, Cellarius and Hetzer. Denck acted as the leader or guide of the subject matter discussed. And we know from the intellectual and religious relationship

[264] Will: Beyträge zur Geschichte des Antibaptismus in Deutschland, pp. 27-30. Will is such an earnest opponent of all "Anabaptists" that it is necessary to accept his testimony with great reserve. He had access to good sources, however. The above paragraph comes from Austin P. Evans: An Episode in the Struggle for Religious Freedom: The Sectaries of Nuremberg, 1524-1528.

[265] Keim, pp. 270-271.

[266] Weis, p. 41, note 2. Capito to Zwingli, December 26, 1526.

[267] Weis, p. 41.

which existed between Cellarius and Capito, that Capito himself approved the findings of this conference. [268] This is further confirmed by the fact that at this conference Cellarius gave solemn assurance to Denck that "between us" (Hetzer, Cellarius, Capito and Denck) everything is in agreement. [269]

As we have seen, Martin Bucer and Wolfgang Capito were the two great Reformers of note at Strasbourg. Each was jealous of the other—each watched the conduct of the other. But the stronger of the two was Bucer, who observed with interest the growing friendship of Cellarius and Capito for Denck and Hetzer and daily he heard of others who had joined them.

Neither Capito nor Bucer, was fully satisfied either with Lutheranism or Zwinglianism, and they had taken an independent position. Capito frankly disagreed with Zwingli on infant baptism and had written him as early as December 31, 1524 that he was unwilling for the moment to decide either for or against it. [270] Moreover he strongly disapproved of Zwingli's persecuting methods. [271] Only atheists and blasphemers, he held, should be punished by the civil authorities, and he favored complete freedom on questions of dogma. He had little sympathy with the fanatical manner in which Zwingli opposed the Anabaptists. [272] Nor could he bring himself to support Luther in many things which he regarded as non-essentials. He was indeed broad-minded enough to see the good points of both positions while at the same time deploring their shortcomings and animosities. Matthew Zell, another Strasbourg preacher, likewise a member of the independent party

[268] Weis. p. 41.
[269] Weis, p. 41. Zwinglii Opera VIII., 83.
[270] Zwingli: Opera, VII, p. 375. Keller: Ein Apostel, pp. 143, 148.
[271] Zwingli had written Vadian, March 7, 1526, that the Council of Zurich had decided to inflict the death penalty on the Anabaptists. See above, note 135.
[272] Coutts: Hans Denck, p. 54.

there, publicly expressed his disapproval of persecuting policies, and, in opposition to Luther, agreed with the Anabaptists, that the magistrates were not justified in using the civil sword in matters of faith. These two preachers aided by Martin Bucer, had secured the abolition of the old ecclesiastical rites in 1524 and thus brought about the Reformation in Strasbourg. [273]

Both Capito and Bucer would have been glad enough to have started a church altogether independent of Wittenberg and Zurich, but they had sufficient political sagacity to see that such a course would be fatal to the Reformation in Strasbourg. A political basis for the Reformation, in view of the hostility of the old Catholic church, they considered was absolutely necessary. They accordingly tried to secure the position of the church at Strasbourg by an alliance either with the dominant Lutheranism of Saxony, or with the dominant Zwinglianism of the Swiss Cantons, or both. "Isolation seemed to threaten failure and ruin." [274]

But while Capito and Zell were attracted by the teachings of the Anabaptists, Bucer was the avowed enemy of that party. It was Martin Bucer (frightened for the future of the Protestant churches of Strasbourg, due to the remarkable gains of the Anabaptists) who first urged that drastic measures be taken against them.

A former Dominican monk, a man of unusual learning, possessed of great talents and sharp-witted sagacity, Bucer was probably the strongest in his influence of all the Strasbourg clergy. He had a remarkable knowledge of men and affairs and his resourceful mind rarely failed to seize the right mode of action to be pursued. [275] Indeed Capito had observed of him in 1524, that "he was governed

[273] Coutts, Hans Denck, p. 55. Keller, Gerbert, Weis, passim.
[274] Coutts, Hans Denck, p. 57. Keller, Gerbert, passim.
[275] Coutts, Hans Denck, p. 59.

more by practical consideration than by a love of truth." [276] "More vigorous, and less sensitive and scrupulous than Capito, his was the more masterful personality." [277] Though he did not believe that the death penalty should be inflicted on the Anabaptists, less stringent measures he was eager to adopt. And because of his powerful influence over the magistracy of the city, as we have already seen in the case of Jacob Gross, he was heart and soul with Zwingli in his attempt to put an end to the teachings of the Apostolic Brethren. In striking at Denck, therefore, Bucer wished to sever the roots of the whole movement.

Thus it was only with the appearance of friendship that Bucer challenged Hans Denck to a public disputation, and the arrangements were made to have it on the 22nd day of December, 1526. Hetzer, Cellarius, Capito and many others were present, but Capito purposely took no part in the discussion. [278]

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The subject chosen for this disputation was Denck's booklet, "On the Law of God" which had been published at Augsburg more than a year before. Denck expounded his position with great ability and clarity. In their "Faithful Warning" published the next summer the Strasbourg preachers accused Denck of not being willing to have his mind bound by the scriptures, and they accused him, when confronted with Paul's teaching about the Law of God, of speaking slightingly of the apostle. In a letter sent to Zwingli soon after the disputation Bucer grossly misrepresents Denck's position, not perhaps with conscious unfairness, as may be seen by a comparison with the

[276] Zwingli: Opera, VII, 375.
[277] Coutts, Hans Denck, p. 59.
[278] Weis, p. 42; Keim, p. 271.

teachings of the book itself. [279] We do not know what official account Bucer made to the magistrates of the city, but, on the following morning Denck received an order to leave Strasbourg, and faithful to his principles of non-resistence, on December 24th he left the city. The banishment of his friend Denck must surely have been an admonition for Hetzer to be on his guard.

Bucer's work had graver consequences than he had expected. Many of those who formerly had leanings towards the Anabaptist position now flocked to the standards of Zwingli. Among these weaker souls was Wolfgang Capito. Less than forty-eight hours after Denck had quit Strasbourg—on the 26th of December—Capito wrote to Zwingli a long letter, in which he attempted to justify himself for his silence at the public disputation between Denck and Bucer which had taken place as we have seen on the 22nd of December. It was not too soon to write Zwingli, for Zwingli had heard probably before he received Capito's letter that Denck had opened the conference by stating that Capito agreed with Cellarius, Hetzer and himself in all the essential points of his doctrine. [280]

Instead of defending Cellarius, Denck and Hetzer in his letter, Capito tried to work his way out of the irksome and difficult situation in which he found himself. The discredited Anabaptists (Denck and Hetzer) became the victims or scape-goats which allowed Capito to stretch out his repentant hands towards Zwingli. [281] He recounted to Zwingli that he had not entered into the disputes be-

[279] In his letter to Zwingli, Bucer sums up Denck's teachings as follows:
1. Men by their own efforts can obtain justification before God.
2. Sin is merely imaginary; Nothing at all.
3. Christ is simply our example to inspire us with the sense of what is right.
4. It is in the power of any man to do good.
5. Men have free-will.

From Denck's booklets we get quite contrary ideas as to his doctrines. See Coutts, p. 64-65. Weis, passim; Keller, Ein Apostel, etc.
[280] Weis, p. 43. Keller: Ein Apostel, p. 166.
[281] Keller: Ein Apostel, p. 166.

cause he was not as skilled in discourse as was Bucer—and he therefore kept silent. In these words Capito wished to assure Zwingli that he sided with Bucer against Hetzer and Denck, when as a matter of fact his leanings had formerly been to the side of the latter. [282]

Capito said that it was not true that Hetzer and Denck were in agreement with him—as Denck had affirmed before the whole audience. Capito's friendship with Cellarius, the friend of Hetzer and Denck, he finally justified by saying in his letter that until recently he had supposed Cellarius to be intimate with Zwingli. [283]

From such a friend as Capito, Hetzer and Denck could hope for but little help. He kept quiet when he should have taken up their defense in the public disputation; he saw Denck's banishment with perfect indifference. If, therefore, a few weeks later, Denck bitterly complains about the "scribes" of courage—who would not defend the truths they had recognized—it is clear at whom this reproach was aimed and how much it was justified. [284]

The rule which was the standard of the magistracy regarding the treatment of Anabaptists for the year 1526 we find in a City Council protocol for that year. [285] This document records that imprisonment and banishment shall be accorded to Anabaptists. It summarized their doctrine as follows: (1) they respect no authority, and (2) they share everything they have with others (that is, they are communists). [286] Yet as a matter of fact both Denck and Hetzer respected the properly constituted authorities and neither Denck nor Hetzer was a communist.

The Magistracy had banished Denck because of his

[282] Weis, p. 43.
[283] Weis, p. 43 and Note 3. Opera VII., 580.
[284] Weis, p. 43, note 4. Keller, p. 167.
[285] Weis, p. 43, note 5. Cornelius: II., 273.
[286] Weis, p. 44. Cornelius: II., 273.

participation in the dispute of December 22, 1526, of which the authorities had had no previous knowledge and at which naturally not one of them had participated in person. Capito informed Zwingli of all this in a letter of complaint against Bucer. [287] It is apparent, therefore, that Bucer had represented to the magistrates that Denck was an Anabaptist, whereat the authorities forthwith banished him in accordance with their rules of procedure against Anabaptists, without troubling themselves to inquire as to the true views which the more moderate Anabaptists such as Hetzer and Denck held. [288]

It was reported "that they could not be prevailed upon to give in and mend their ways. Therefore before the end of the same year the magistrates forbade the obstinate ones to remain in the city." [289] Furthermore, a little later through the mandate of June 26, 1527 the citizens were even forbidden to give shelter to Anabaptists.

The protocol concerning the above-mentioned disputation has not been found, but the mandate concerning the forbidding of shelter to Anabaptists is as follows:

"We, Jacob Sturm and the City Council of Strasbourg . . . . in order to prevent and avert the prevalent godless orders, the many sects and the erroneous doctrines to be found and to be seen, especially among such persons called Anabaptists, who appear to other Christians to lead pious lives and at the same time claim that the authorities appointed by God to protect the good and punish the wicked, act contrary to all godly and evangelical writings, and they not only claim to know that the authorities are not Christians but moreover also some of their ignorant leaders reply to the articles which refer to the serviceable

[287] Weis, p. 44, note 1. Capito to Zwingli, December 22, 1526.
[288] Weis, p. 44.
[289] Anna Brons, p. 409.

composition of the common needs, love, freedom and unity and they declare that they are not forbidden by God to persist in their obstinate heads in separating from and lacking respect for Christian and saintly persons: and no amount of instruction will satisfy them:

Therefore to us, as a superior authority and because of our office which calls us to do our duty as is becoming and fitting, in face of such ignorant, punishable, demoralizing conduct: Therefore we command in our most earnest manner that each and everyone of our citizens, property-holders, dependents and kindred, clerical and secular, in the city and in the country preserve themselves from these errors and against all things corrupting the Holy Scriptures —and we forbid them to have any intercourse with the Anabaptists and their followers or to take them into their houses and inns, or to give them anything to eat or to drink, or a place to sleep; but on the contrary all who do any of these things will be exiled just as those who hold the unpunished, erroneous ideas or those who will not be taught.

Then, as for anyone who will not do this, he shall be cast out and expelled, and no one shall be excused, and those who mingle with or help or stand up for these shameless leaders or who entertain or accept their shameless opinions, we will punish as our most earnest duty demands, and we warn each one that he must not have anything to do with this evil.

Actum et decretum.
On Saturday, June 26, 1527. [290]

It was a principle with the Anabaptists to obey the authorities in everything which was not contrary to the Bible, and Denck held fast to his principles and would not employ force to overcome force. Accordingly the leaders

[290] Brons, pp. 409-410.

made no opposition, but quietly left Strasbourg when ordered to depart, murmuring only the words of Jesus: "And whosoever will not receive you, when ye go out of that city, shake off the very dust from your feet for a testimony against them." (Luke 9:5). [291] Denck left Strasbourg on the day before Christmas, 1526, and probably Hetzer and Sattler left soon after. [292] In leaving Strasbourg their hopes were lost—for this was the city in which they had hoped to develop the power of the moderate Anabaptists. [293]

Capito must have trembled for his own safety when he thought of the friendship which existed between Hetzer and Denck, and when he realized what a possible menace Hetzer's presence under his own roof might be for him. But he had little need to worry about Hetzer's remaining long as his guest, for the latter apparently soon took him to task for deserting his friend Denck in his need.

This caused a quarrel and finally an estrangement between Hetzer and his host. In the end Hetzer felt obliged to leave Strasbourg, which he did, probably during the first few days of the new year (1527).

He did not leave Capito in peace, as may readily be seen from his parting letter to his host. This letter, moreover, clearly shows the nature of their conflict.

"My Capito . . . . . .

Farewell. I exhort and pray thee through Jesus Christ, our Lord, that thou forgive me indulgently and kindly if I have done any wrong against thee. I forgive thee, too, willingly, however great thy transgressions. Alas! Capito, may we yet finally put off the old man

[291] Weis, p. 42; Brons, p. 410.
[292] Probably Hetzer and Sattler were the Anabaptists who were obliged to leave with Denck for Oecolampadius wrote to Zwingli on January 15, 1527 that other Anabaptists were obliged to leave with Denck. Z. S. W., VIII., 13.
[293] Weis, p. 42.

and walk in the way of the new life! . . . . . Farewell forever in Jesus our Lord.

Lud. Hetzerus." [294]

The direct cause of this conflict could have been no other than that Capito did not come to the rescue of his friends Hetzer and Denck at the time of the disputation, but rather remained silent when he foresaw that Bucer would secure their banishment because they were Anabaptists. Bucer violently opposed Hetzer on the ground that he was identified with Denck and therefore an Anabaptist. Capito easily forgot his Anabaptist beliefs and the sorry plight of his friend when his own safety was in danger. For the sake of his worldly ease Capito suddenly remembered that on December 10, 1526, Zwingli had written him that Hetzer was "a very troublesome man," and therefore Capito joined hands with his rival Bucer. Thus was Hetzer obliged to leave Strasbourg soon after Denck. [295]

Notwithstanding the short time they dwelt at Strasbourg, Hetzer and Denck left a permanent impression upon the city. Capito wrote to Zwingli on the 7th of July, 1527, that "the Anabaptists trouble us very much." And four months later, November 7th, 1527, the number of Anabaptists was growing daily—and many good men were among the number. If questioned they would remain silent as to their opinions, yet they treasured their God in their breasts. "Even the best hearts," repeated Capito, "become infected with this epidemic." [296]

Bucer lamented later that the conditions of the Protestants of Strasbourg were deplorable. "Vice," he wrote,

[294] See the Latin form of this letter in the Appendix.
[295] Capito to Zwingli, letter of February 28, 1527. "Faithful Warning" p. 107.
[296] Weis, p. 46. Zwinglii Opera VIII,. 112.

"has taken not a few . . . . But besides this evil, the Anabaptists make most of us waver." Bucer's struggle with them lasted many, many years with but little success on his part—so strong an impression had Denck, Hetzer and others made upon the people of Strasbourg." [297]

[297] Weis, p. 46. Bucer to Blaurer, September 13, 1528.

Chapter XVII.

Denck and Hetzer at Worms: January to July, 1527.

It was with a heavy heart that Hetzer and Denck left their friends at Strasbourg. They did not know where to look for shelter—for as soon as they made friends or disciples, these friends or disciples only shared the fate of their leaders. Defenseless, shelterless and without means they set forth again on their wanderings in mid-winter towards the north of Alsace and the Rhine Palatinate. But everywhere the two friends went, through the efforts of Bucer, the news of their banishment from Strasbourg had arrived before them. Everywhere they went they were regarded with suspicion. [298]

Probably the two Anabaptist leaders took different roads, agreeing to meet at Worms as soon as convenient. We do not know the course of Hetzer's journey. He may possibly have gone to Basle. [299] Denck, on the other hand, stopped first at Bergzabern in the Palatinate at the house of the minister, Thomas Siegelspach, the friend of the Strasbourg preachers and especially the friend of Oecolampadius. [300] From Bergzabern, Denck went to Landau where he was accorded a friendly reception and found shelter at the home of one of the Anabaptist brothers. Here on January 20, 1527, Denck took part in a friendly disputation with the finely educated and gifted minister of that place, Johannes Bader. The subject of the debate was "Infant Baptism" which was only a single and relatively unimportant point in Denck's system of doctrine. Before the end of January, however, both Hetzer and Denck had taken up their residence at Worms.

During the months of February and March, Hetzer and Denck were very busily engaged with their translation of the prophetical books of the Old Testament from

[298] Weis, p. 47.

[299] In a letter of Oecolampadius to Zwingli, dated January 15, 1527, Oecolampadius complains of disturbances in Basle, caused by the preaching of Anabaptists who had been driven out of Strasbourg. Zwingli: Opera VIII, p. 64.

[300] Weis, p. 47.

the original Hebrew into the vernacular. They had commenced this work at Strasbourg, it will be remembered, but it was finally completed, according to a statement in the preface of the work, on the 13th of April, 1527, at Worms, and published there soon after by Peter Schöffer, [301] with the title: "All of the Prophets translated into German out of the Hebrew tongue by Ludwig Hetzer and Hans Denck. O God, release the captives. 1527." "Alle Propheten nach Hebräischer sprach verteutscht von Ludwig Hetzer und Hans Denck. O Gott erlöss die Gefangenen. Worms, Jo. Schöffer, 1527."

This work may well be considered the finest piece of literary work done by either Hetzer or Denck. [302] It is said, indeed, that this work alone is sufficient to give the two friends a very high place in the history of German literature. [303]

Within four years it was printed in seventeen different editions at Strasbourg, Augsburg, Hagenau, etc. Throughout Germany this work of the despised Anabaptists was sold, read and highly treasured. [304]

[301] Weis, p. 50. See the Preface to the Prophets. Bock, p. 231. Riederer: News (Nachrichten) II., 384 f. Sometimes we find the name Johann Schöffer and sometimes Peter Schöffer. Possibly the man's full name was Johann Peter Schöffer.

[302] Weis, p. 50, Note 1. Realencyklopädie, 3rd Edition, Vol. III, p. 77. F. W. E. Roth: Die Buchdruckereien zu Worms a. Rh. im 16. Jahrh., 1892, pp. 11ff. "a comparison of the translation of Micah made by Hetzer alone in 1526, with the rest of the translation (of the Prophets), reveals how much the version owed to the remarkable scholarship of Denck." But then two heads always are better than one!

[303] Weis, p. 50.

[304] Weis, p. 51. See also Panzer: ausf. Beschreib. der ält. Augspurgischen Ausgaben der Bibel. pp. 105 ff. and Martin Luther: Gesch. der deutsch Bibelübers. 2nd edition, 289 f. Keller: Ein Apostel, 211 ff.

This work was printed at Augsburg by both Ottmar and Steiner. It was printed five times in the first year; eleven times in the first two years, then again in Augsburg in 1530-1531 and finally in a joint brochure with Luther in 1532—a true proof of its value and its utility. It was used by evangelical and reformed as well as by the Anabaptists. Among others we find the gifted preacher Conrad Sam of Ulm used it in 1529.

Regel wrote to Zwingli: "Sam benützt in einer Predigt 1529 diese Uebersetzung (Jes. c. 1: wie ist die glaubhafte Stadt so gar zur Huren geworden)." Sam employed in a sermon in 1529 this translation...how can this so believing village have become such a harlot?

This was the first modern translation of the Prophets and must have been used not only in the Swiss translation, but also, five years later, in the translation of Luther himself. [305] Luther praised it in a letter of the 4th of May, 1527 to his friend Wenzeslaus Link. He said in this letter that the "Worms translation of the Prophets was not to be despised". Scholars who have examined the work have ascribed to it only the highest praise for its accuracy and the excellence of its choice of language. One such scholar, a person of anti-Anabaptist sympathies, said of it: "that the co-workers throughout have observed an objective attitude, and neither in the text nor in the notes have they let a special dogmatic interest be revealed." [306]

The scientific inquiry of our day confirms the confession of the translators as given in the Preface, in which they said they "had not spared their greatest diligence, had not been ashamed to question where they hoped for an answer, had left undone no reading, had despised nothing, had made every effort to furnish the truest possible interpretation." [307]

But in spite of, perhaps because of, the excellence of this translation, both Wittenberg and Zurich immediately started to attack it. In the preface to the Swiss translation of the Prophets, which appeared in 1529, although it was confessedly inferior in clearness and purity of diction to the translation of Hetzer and Denck, we find the following slighting words: "Who would not be frightened and shudder at the interpretation which has gone out from those who were the ringleaders of bands and sects (i. e. Hetzer and Denck), which furnish us more rubbish in the church of God nowadays than the Papacy ever did." In short it was considered undesirable to have in circulation,

[305] Weis, p. 50. See Keller and Heberle; also Coutts, p. 69.
[306] Weis, p. 51. Heberle in Stud. u. Krit. 1855, p. 835.
[307] Weis, p. 51. Heberle in Stud. u. Krit. 1855, p. 835.

in the Reformed churches, a translation done by heretics. That was the only objection, and this is expressly stated in the Preface to the Zurich translation. [308] Luther's hatred of these two Anabaptist leaders may be seen through his grudging praise of their translation: "Therefore I hold that no false prophet and factious spirit can truly interpret, as well appears in the Prophets put into German at Worms. But there were Jews concerned in it, who did not show great honor to Christ; otherwise there is diligence and skill in plenty there." [309] Whatever opposition the translation met came from men who were prejudiced against the opinions of Denck and Hetzer, though none of their opinions were to be found in their translation. Andrew Osiander of Nuremberg, for example, a bitter enemy of Denck, secured the prohibition of its sale in that city, solely because it was the work of Anabaptist scholars. Yet in spite of a few obstacles of this nature the work met with an immense success. In regard to Osiander's criticism, George Regel, the friend and patron both of Denck and Hetzer, wrote in a letter to Zwingli, dated Augsburg, May 15, 1527: "A voice from Augsburg says, 'What Osiander holds and believes must we also believe!' Let him show in what respect the translation is not good, and let him make a better. Then he may criticise it adversely. Surely even if the devil speaks the truth, it will still be the truth." [310]

It appears to have been characteristic of both Hetzer and Denck that by preference they turned to the Prophets. From them they learned of the true spirit of confidence and faith in God. To Anabaptists such as they were,

[308] Coutts: Hans Denck, p. 70. See also Keller: Ein Apostel, etc., and the Preface itself.
[309] Weis, pp. 51-52. Luther to Wencelaus Link in de Wette, III, 72. Luther: Deutsche Werke, V 1436. Züricher Vorrede in Füssli III, cxxx ff. Nuremberg Verbot. See Regel to Zwingli, May 15, 1527. Bock: histor. Antitrinit. 232.
[310] Regel to Zwingli: Zwingli, Opera VIII, p. 65. Quoted by Coutts, p. 70.

purity of soul, true love, and obedience to a compelling truth were found finely exemplified in the lives of these prophets of the Old Testament. Hetzer, especially, was filled with their courageous zeal for truth and righteousness, while both of the friends were strongly attracted by the mystical spirit of prophecy and symbolism of these ancient writings. They felt within themselves the rich activity of the Holy Spirit of which the prophets so often spoke. And Hetzer in his preface to Malachi already had declared that the Holy Spirit would descend upon the man who humbly waited for it. [311]

That adverse criticism would be plentiful was foreseen by the authors, for in their preface they spoke of people to whom nothing is good save that which is of their own cooking. They begged the reader, however, not to judge the book before he had read it.

Still they admitted that their translation of certain passages did not satisfy them. They had sometimes failed to understand the words of the prophets partly because of the hidden and secret meanings of the words and partly because of the abbreviations of the Hebrew tongue. They generously declared that they would be truly thankful to God if some other man could produce a better translation. It will thus be seen that their interest was neither sectarian nor selfish but that they were impelled to produce the best translation which their scholarship and ability enabled them to do. [312] As a result, therefore, their translation reveals great fidelity of language, excellent literary skill and a fine understanding and warmth of prophetic expression. [313]

Their translation remains to bear witness to the solid and impartial scholarship of the authors. [314]

311 See the quotation referred to on page 113 above.
312 Preface to the Prophets.
313 Weis.
314 Beard, p. 206.

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The Prophets being translated and printed, however, Hetzer and Denck turned once again to the advancement of the Anabaptist cause. They worked alone and together at Landau, at Bergzabern and at Wimpfen as well as here and there among the peasants—but their principal activity was at Worms itself and here they were most successful with their propaganda. [315] They carried on this missionary work with such vigor, that it created great unrest, and, as we shall see, endangered the cause of the orthodox Reformation at Worms.

The German Reformation began at Worms when that brave monk, Martin Luther, appeared before the Imperial Diet in 1521 to answer for his new teachings. Here at Worms, too, no less than at Zurich, many Protestants turned for a model to the apostolic community instead of accepting outright all of the doctrines of Martin Luther. The resentment of the citizens of Worms, caused by their long and violent struggles with the Roman Catholic bishop, found expression at the beginning of the Reformation in violent attacks upon the Church and the clergy. The same tendencies showed themselves in the participation of the city in the Peasant's War, 1525. By the intervention of Count Palatine Ludwig, the bishop and the Catholic clergy were reinstated in their rights, and evangelical preaching was also continued. A compact was made at that time between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities at Worms, according to which "the gospel was to be preached clearly, unmistakably and without human additions". Furthermore the parishioners of each of the four parishes were to be allowed to choose their own preacher. In the interests of Lutheranism this arrangement was later changed so

315 Siegelspach of Bergzabern to Oecolampadius, April 1, 1527, in Füssli: Ep. Reform. I, 29, ff. Bucer to Zwingli, August 13. Capito to Zwingli, September 21. See Philipp A. Pauli: Geschichte der stadt Worms, p. 335. Also Heberle: Joh. Denk und die Ausbreitung S. Lehre, in Stud. u. Krit., 1855.

that the Bishop had the appointment of the preachers [316] and it was perhaps due to this arrangement that the Lutherans continued to have a good hold at Worms at the beginning of the year 1527.

There were, in Worms, at that time, four evangelical preachers, of whom the two senior pastors, Ulrich Preu and Johannes Freiherr, were strong Lutherans. The two younger ministers, however, had been appointed by popular election in 1525 and were men of more radical and independent minds. These were the "fiery" Jacob Kautz [317] and his colleague Hilarius. They were swayed, first towards Zwingli, and later towards the apostolic community.

It happend that in 1525 when the Anabaptist Melchior Hofmann came to Worms from Strasbourg he stayed at the home of the young minister, Jacob Kautz, who was on very friendly terms with the ministers at Strasbourg. During his visit Hofmann taught his doctrines to Kautz, who listened eagerly, and soon afterwards entered actively into the work of the Anabaptists. [318] Yet as late as January, 1527, Kautz had been regarded by the Strasbourg preachers as one of themselves.

The success of Kautz was so marked that on January 15, 1527, he and his colleague, Hilarius, publicly left the

316 Coutts, p. 71.

317 *Jacob Kautz* (Cucius) was born at Gross Bockenheim, eight miles southwest of Worms ca. 1500. He entered the priesthood and a little later, 1524, accepted the Reformation and preached in Worms. He took his coloring rather from Zwingli than from Luther and thus he was on bad terms with both the Roman Catholic and the Lutheran clergy of Worms. During the Peasant's War he had been a trusted adviser to the peasants. He was banished in 1527 from Worms with Hetzer and Denck and henceforth was a wanderer. He went first to Augsburg, then to Rothenburg and in the beginning of 1528 to Strasbourg. There he had a debate with Capito and Bucer, June 1528, and remained at liberty until January, 1529 when he was cast into prison for street-preaching. He was released only to be banished. He is heard of only twice again. In 1532, he applied in vain for permission to return to Strasbourg; in 1536, he was teaching school in Moravia. The date and place of his death are unknown.

318 Weis, p. 49. Pauli: Geschichte der Stadt Worms, 1828, p. 335.

Lutheran communion. After this time Kautz baptized children only upon an urgent request to do so from their parents. [319] When the Elector Ludwig of the Pfalz heard of these events, he charged the magistracy of Worms to permit no dangerous innovations in their city—to which the City Council of Worms replied that they would interfere if need be. [320] The City Council, therefore, on the 31st of March, 1527, called upon Kautz and Hilarius to give their promise not to cause any disturbance, whereupon Kautz replied that he could not silence his conscience for any man.

In view of a possible oppression the Anabaptists of Worms called upon Ludwig Hetzer, Michael Sattler and Hans Denck to come to their aid [321] and during the last days of January, 1527, Denck and Hetzer arrived at Worms, as we have seen. The entrance of such well known men into the apostolic brotherhood or Anabaptist party at Worms added the needed strength and stability to the party there.

But Luther and the Lutheran party were not at all pleased with this turn of affairs at Worms,—this city which had become world famous since Luther had faced the Imperial Diet there in 1521. During 1526, the year before the arrival of Hetzer and Denck at Worms, Luther had preached and printed a sermon in which he had reviled the Anabaptists. At that time Worms had been almost entirely gained to the Lutheran position. But now, with the new and alluring gospel of Kautz, Denck and Hetzer, Worms was falling surely and easily into the hands of the Anabaptists.

The brilliant evangelist, Kautz, soon adopted the mystical and theological views of Hetzer and Denck.

319 Weis, p. 49. Keller, p. 201; Brons, p. 411.

320 Weis, p. 49.

321 Brons, p. 441. Did Sattler join Denck and Hetzer in Worms? It seems to me doubtful.

They, in turn, as chiefs or "Popes" (Pabste) of the Anabaptist party were greatly aided in the organization and activity of the party here at Worms by Kautz, who with eager enthusiasm, supported the doctrines of the two friends and as ardently denounced the Catholic and the Lutheran dogmas, [322] denounced the Council and even went so far as openly to defy from the pulpit the Elector himself. Under the influence of Kautz, Hetzer and Denck, therefore, the Anabaptists grew in numbers from day to day and week by week, much to the terror of the authorities of Worms, who were helpless to stop this growth. [323]

Here at Worms, Hetzer played the principal role and Denck was more busily engaged with his literary work. Hetzer's work, by preference, was the formation of a community. His nervous activity was heard of as far away as Strasbourg, where the Anabaptists officially proclaimed him the head of their party. [324] He it was, moreover, who arranged the religious disputation by which he hoped to gain all the citizens of Worms to his position. But it was Kautz who drew up the theses.

The fortunate days of Hetzer and Denck were not of long duration at Worms. They prepared to take part in the public disputation there. To this end, on the 9th of June (Pentecost), 1527, Kautz posted a series of seven theses on the cloister door of the Cathedral Church at Worms, inviting the opposing party to a public discussion on the following Thursday (June 13) at six o'clock in the morning. [325]

Kautz summoned the citizens of Worms to come to the light. He declared that the lies of the evil-speaking children of the world to their Father ought to be combat-

322 Keim.
323 Weis, p. 50.
324 Keim.
325 Weis, p. 52, and Note 2, p. 52. Heberle, John Denk, etc., in Stud. u. Krit, 1855, pp 840-841. Füssli, V, p. 146..

ed with the aid of God, who alone is Judge, and who alone speaks and testifies in all men's hearts.

The seven theses which Kautz publicly championed and which he aftewards had printed, reflect the theological doctrines of Hetzer and Denck. In them Kautz, Denck and Hetzer stand firmly on common ground. They openly attack infant baptism, the doctrine of eternal damnation and the supreme authority of the Scriptures. In place of this last they substituted the inner Word of God. [326] They also declared without reserve that the entire redemptive work of Christ consisted merely in being a model for conduct, and they defended the moral liberty of man.

These seven theses of Kautz are as follows:

I. "The external word (the Scriptures) is not the true, living or eternally abiding Word of God, but only the testimony or indication of the inner to satisfy the demand for external things."

II. "Nothing external, whether word, sign, sacrament or promise, has power to assure, console or make certain the inner man."

III. "The baptism of infants is contrary to the teaching of God given us through Christ."

IV. "In the Lord's Supper neither the body nor the blood is corporeally present."

V. "All that was lost in the first Adam is and will be found more richly restored in the second Adam, Christ; yea, in Christ shall all men be quickened and blessed forever."

VI. "Jesus Christ of Nazareth suffered on the cross and made satisfaction for us in no other way than that we should stand in his footsteps and walk in the way which he has opened, and obey the command of the Father,

326 Weis, p. 49. See also Pauli: Gesch. der Stadt Worms, p. 333 ff. Concerning the conduct of the people of Speyer see: Schwäb. Ref. p. 51. Also see the articles of Kautz in Füssli: Beitrage V, 148 f. Heberle: Johann Denk, etc., in Theol. Stud. und Kritik, pp. 839 ff.

even as the Son did. They who speak, think or believe otherwise of Christ, each in his own way make out of Christ an idol."

VII. "Just as the literal bite of the forbidden fruit would have harmed neither (Adam) himself nor his descendents if he had not eaten of the same with his mind, so also the bodily suffering of Jesus Christ is not real satisfaction and reconciliation with the Father without internal obedience and the greatest desire to yield to the eternal will."

"Of these articles thus formulated, no one must be judge except only He who speaks and testifies in the hearts of all men as Scripture says. For no man has been commanded by God to call the truth into judgment, but only to testify." [327]

The Lutherans presented their counter theses (while the Catholics were upheld by Cochlaeus [328]) and such an excitement agitated the citizens of the city that the City Council feared daily a conflict among the people. [329]

Capito wrote to Zwingli on the 9th of July that the citizens of Worms had renounced God (i. e. they had renounced their Lutheran doctrines); and the chronicler,

[327] Printed in Zwingli's complete works both in Latin and in German. Z: Opera VIII, 77. See also A. Hulshof: Geschiedenis van de Doopsgezinden te Straasburg 1525-1527 (1905) pp. 53 ff.; and Baum: Capito u. Bucer, p. 376. Also in Füssli, V, 148 in German and in Latin in Sculteti annal. ad. a. 1527. Cochläus gives only the 3rd and 4th articles as "impietate prae ceteris insignes." Heberle, pp. 839-840.

[328] *Johannes Cochlaeus* (Dobneck, Wendelstinus), Roman Catholic controversialist. He was born at Wendelstein near Nuremberg, January 10, 1479 and died at Breslau, January 10, 1552. He studied at Nuremberg and Cologne. He taught from 1510 to 1515 at St. Sebald's School in Nuremberg, where Denck was later the Rector. He was consecrated priest at Rome and was appointed deacon of the church of Our Beloved Lady at Frankfort-on-the-Main. Cochlaeus was at first inclined to side with Luther but in order to remain on good terms with the Bishop of Mainz and with Hieronymus Aleander at Worms, he changed his mind and became a strong Roman Catholic controversialist. But, a man of good gifts, he remained little recognized. See his "Commentaria de actis et scriptis M. Lutheri. MDXLIX." He died, 1552.

[329] Weis, p. 52.

Friedrich Zorn, tells us that "the Anabaptist preachers and leaders had gained among the citizens a great following with their flattering words and their holy appearing lives." The city of Worms seems to have been almost entirely in the hands of the Anabaptists. [330]

But this state of affairs could not last long. When the Lutherans and the Catholics and the members of the City Council banded together with the Elector Ludwig, the power of the Anabaptists was soon dissipated. [331] There is no evidence that the proposed debate ever came off, but Hetzer, Denck, Kautz and Hilarius with several of their chief supporters had to flee for their lives because the Elector with fire and sword commenced an atrocious repression by means of imprisonment, banishment, torture, execution and martyrdom. Among the country people he caused a wholesale slaughter of all who were even suspected of being Anabaptists. [332] The "Chronicle of the Anabaptists" tells us that in the Pfalz alone in a short time 350 persons were *executed* because they held Anabaptist views. [333]

The Strasbourg mandate of June 26, 1527, against the Anabaptists (quoted above) was sent to the people of Worms, and Martin Bucer, under the cover of the Strasbourg clergy, printed a booklet, which as its title page recorded, was directed against "the grave errors of Hans Denck and other Anabaptists." [334]

The title of this booklet issued by the Reformed pastors of Strasbourg, July 2, 1527, is: "A faithful

[330] Weis, p. 52.

[331] It seems strange that these organizations should *band together* but such was the case. They were *driven to it* by the Anabaptists who threatened their existence.

[332] Weis, pp. 52-53. According to Cochlaeus: palatinus elector tantum effecit, ut paulo post utrique adversarii ex urbe illa pellerentur.

[333] Weis, p. 50.

[334] Weis, p. 45, and Note 1. "Getrewe Warnung," etc., Füssli: Beitr. V., 146 ff.; Trechsel, I, 19.; Röhrich, I, 338.

warning of the preachers of the gospel against the articles which Jacob Kautz, preacher at Worms, has lately issued concerning the fruit of the Scripture and the Word of God, Infant Baptism and the Redemption by our Lord Jesus Christ, and other doctrines." But the real author, without a shadow of a doubt, was Martin Bucer.

In this booklet Denck is falsely charged with being a disciple of the revolutionary Anabaptist, Thomas Münzer. The "Faithful Warning" also declares that Hans Denck in his writings and in his speech shows himself to be a very great enemy to the authorities. Somewhat farther along it declares that it understands from Denck's doctrine that "one does not owe obedience to the civil authorities."[335] The author has here naturally concluded that as a disciple of Münzer, Denck could have learned nothing else than revolution from that fanatic. Furthermore it declares, "We affirm that no injurious doctrines can come out of the Bible or the Holy Spirit—such as the unfortunate Hans Denck is infected with." [336] The only reply that Denck made to the false accusations of this booklet was that it was difficult to keep even a tender and gentle heart in check.

As for Hetzer the "Warning" says doubtfully " I do not know if Hetzer also" is to blame for the tumult at Worms. But shortly after he is mentioned as the chief agitator of the Anabaptist party by Capito and is censured for having been easily won to Denck's blasphemy in regard to the cross of Christ. [337]

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335 The "Faithful Warning" declared that Denck had shown himself to be a great enemy of the redemption of Jesus Christ, the light of holy scripture and the divine institution of the magistracy.

336 Weis, p. 45. Heberle, pp. 843-844.

337 Capito to Zwingli, July 7th (Z. S. W. 9:167-168) and 9th, (Z. S. W. 9:171-172) 1527. "antesignanus est Hetzer absens licet (from Strasbourg)—Tantum potuit pestis illa Hezerus et Cucius quidam." "tantas turbas Hezerus praecipue dedit." A letter from Kautz to the Landgraf is mentioned in Capito to Zwingli, September 21. See also Heberle, 845.

The overthrow arrived quickly. [338] Worms was not the only city which refused an asylum to the Anabaptist leaders. They were forbidden to enter Landau and Wimpfen and they were obliged to flee from the Pfalz. The peasants who had been baptized by Hetzer and Denck were for the most part imprisoned for a long period at the castle of Alzey near Worms, and by the use of all the tortures imaginable (which continued until autumn) were cruelly re-converted. Those who would not become re-converted were punished by death. In the city of Worms itself for several weeks there was no evangelical preaching, until in August the City Council took courage to ask the clergy at Strasbourg to send a preacher to them. The man selected turned out to be Leonhard Brunner. But the evangelical party at Worms was very feeble and remained so. The initiative and imagination of their keenest citizens had been stamped out. The City Council of Worms itself became subservient and inefficient and the Elector Ludwig became once again in 1529 and 1530 a stranger to the Evangelical party. [339]

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338 See Capito to Zwingli and Bucer to Zwingli. Pauli, p. 336 f. Stud. und Krit. 1855, p. 842 f. Capito gave the news to Zwingli (July 7) that Hetzer and Denck were expelled from Worms and that they were wanted by the Kurfurst. (Z. S. W. 9:167-168)

339 On Landau: Bucer to Zwingli, August 13. On Wimpfen: relatio historica, p. 23. On the peasantry: Capito to Zwingli, September 21. On the conduct of the people of Speyer in 1529, see Schwäb. Ref. p. 88.

Capito wrote to Zwingli, September 21, 1527: "Sunt a palatino agricolae catabaptistae, discipuli Denckiani et Hetzeri, capti, torti, cruciati maiorem in modum, in confessione Christi et baptismi sui perstant." Also see Cochlaeus: Comment. p. 175: "in arce palatini electoris, quae Alcea dicitur, multi ex ea secta homines diu fuere detenti multisque iudiciis producti, donec tandem aut revocarent errores aut subirent secundum leges supplicia." Heberle, p. 848. Keim, p. 275.

Chapter XVIII.

The Months of Wandering. July 1527 - July 1528.

At Worms, Hetzer Denck and Sattler escaped death once again, but it was not long before each one of them became a martyr to their cause.

Michael Sattler [340] had left Worms during the early part of 1527 and went to Rottenburg-on-the-Neckar to further the work of the Anabaptist party there. This town of Rottenburg is noteworthy because of the multitude of Protestant and Anabaptist martyrs who died within its walls. The cruelty which his friends and co-religionists had to endure here filled Sattler with such indignation that he said on one occasion that in case of a world-wide war he would prefer to fight *against* the so-called Christians, who persecuted and killed their pious and defenseless fellow Christians as if they were Turks.

Sattler was imprisoned because of this utterance. When he was accused of saying it he confessed that he had said it and refused to retract. A righteous Turk, he continued, knows nothing of Christian faith. He is a Turk according to the flesh—because he was born that way. But we are Christians, and praise ourselves as Christians, and yet persecute other pious Christians, and are thus Turks in spirit.

Besides this accusation, he and his fellow-believers were charged with having acted against the Imperial mandate: they did not believe that the Body and Blood of Christ were really present in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; they rejected infant baptism, and stood for Christian baptism, as they said; they did not hold the sacrament of anointing; they refused to invoke and honor the Virgin

[340] For an excellent contemporary account of Sattler, see the MSS. Chronicle of the Anabaptists in the Library at Hamburg. Sattler must have made but a very short visit to Worms for he was at Schlatten-am-Rand on February 24, 1527. Perhaps he did not go to Worms at all. The present author has also written an extended account of "Michael Sattler, his life, teachings and works" in MSS., 1929, 100 pp. Anna Brons, pp. 412-413.

Mary and the Saints; they taught that one should not take oaths; they taught that a Christian should not go to war; he, Michael Sattler, was a runaway monk who had married.

Sattler asked the judges to find a learned man to oppose him and to show him with a Bible, with Scriptural passages, wherein he was wrong. If they could prove that he was wrong then he would gladly die. The answer was, however, that as he was a villain and a heretic, the hangman should argue with him. As his followers were no more ready than he to deny their faith, they were in like manner, women as well as men, condemned to death.

Michael Sattler was the first among the men to be cruelly killed as a martyr by being *burned at the stake.* A few of the others asked to be executed by the sword and the women were hung. Sattler's wife bid them with exhortations and menaces to renounce their faith, yet turned pale, when she found that she was to be put to death also by hanging. All of this is recounted even in greater detail in the Manuscript of the library of the Anabaptist community in Amsterdam where most of the information concerning Hetzer's friend Sattler is to be found.

While at Strasbourg it was intimated that Hetzer, Cellarius and Sattler were not on very good terms one with another. This, at least, was the report of their enemies. But it is enlightening to note that Bucer (in his "Faithful Warning" of July 2, 1527, page C-6) intimates that Hetzer wrote the anonymous account of Sattler's last days, called "Histori Michel Sattlers". This story of Sattler's martyrdom ends with the following words: "I, (Ludwig Hetzer), have heard and seen all this myself, and also affirm (that I bear) witness about him correctly". "das hab ich L. alles selber gehört und gesehen, verjehe auch von ihm ritterlich zu zeugen." Whether or not one credits Hetzer with the authorship of this booklet (and it would

seem, according to the testimony of Martin Bucer, altogether probable that he wrote it) at least one thing *is* certain from the remarks found in the "Faithful Warning" of the Strasbourg preachers, namely, that they who had spoken of the quarrels between Sattler and Hetzer, believed the latter friendly enough to write a very appealing story of Sattler's martyrdom. If, therefore, the two Anabaptists were true friends nothing would be more natural than that Hetzer should write and publish an account of his friend's noble testimony to their faith. If, on the other hand, the two Anabaptists were really unfriendly,—then the testimony of the Strasbourg preachers redounds much to the credit of Hetzer—for this testimony proves that the Strasbourg preachers believed him man enough to praise highly the virtuous deeds of a man he did not like. It would seem, however, reasonable to believe that Sattler and Hetzer were in truth good friends and that the latter bore witness to the heroism of the former's death by writing a stirring account of his friend's devotion to their cause. [341]

The constant threat and menace of such injustice, cruelty and the martyr's death, hung like the sword of Damocles suspended over the heads of all of the Anabaptists, and the leaders such as Hetzer and Denck were obliged to wander from place to place, homeless and penniless, hunted down like wild beasts. These most sweet and Christlike souls were treated worse than criminals were treated.

Ludwig Hetzer and Hans Denck fled from Worms in July, 1527. From there they went once again to Strasbourg for a short time, where, not withstanding their

[341] Ludwig Keller: Article on Sattler in the A. D. B., Vol. 30, pp. 410-413, feels uncertain as to Hetzer's authorship of this "Histori Michel Sattlers". But he agrees that the Strasbourg preacher's belief in Hetzer's authorship throws a decided doubt upon the supposed seriousness of the quarrels between Sattler and Hetzer.

absence, the Anabaptist party had flourished and grown rapidly in numbers. Indeed the increase had been so extraordinary that the Evangelical preachers did not know how to help themselves. [342]

From Strasbourg they proceeded towards Basle and its environs where they converted the country-folk. Oecolampadius speaks of hundreds who followed these new ideas. [343] They appear also to have converted in this way vast numbers of people in South Germany. Nearly everywhere, where heterodox sects appear at this time, are to be found at the same time the teachings of Hetzer and Denck concerning the deity of Christ. They were especially widespread in Swabia. [344] Wherever they could find a few earnest souls willing to hear their message they would stop and organize them into a local brotherhood. A letter of August 10, 1527, written to the authorities of the cities of Strasbourg and Constance leads us to the conclusion that the two friends must have followed the Rhine into Switzerland. In this letter the authorities of the city of Zurich warn against those "who desire to destroy not alone the inner conscience, but also the outer, human laws of orderly and Christian authority" and it continues, "A few days ago one by the name of Hans Denck, who claims to be from Augsburg, an arch-Baptist of this Anabaptism, and who, along with Ludwig Hetzer and others, is said to have caused the disturbance at Worms (as we received good information of this after his departure) passed through our city and country, visited our people, who therefore are under suspicion, and left behind him (the report) that he was intending to go on to Schaffhausen, Constance, and

[342] Hagen, p. 293. Capito to Zwingli: February 28, 1527; April 8, 1527; November 7, 1527. Gerbert, p. 47. Also see Capito's notice to the authorities at Constance, 1529. Zeitschrift f. d. hist. Theol., 1860, p. 37. This last is not reliable.

[343] Oecolampadius to Zwingli, July 1528.

[344] Hagen, p. 293-4.

afterwards further to Augsburg." [345]

From another source it was affirmed that Denck and Hetzer next went to Nuremburg,—for the Anabaptist *Hans Schlaffer*, who was put to death in 1528 at Schwatz, said in his own defense: "At Nuremberg I saw Ludwig Hetzer and Hans Denck, two excellent, earnest divines." [346] So we may conclude that the Zurich magistrates were correctly informed. [347]

Of the activities of the Anabaptists of Augsburg during the year 1527 little is known. "During this year some disciples of the Anabaptist sect crept into Augsburg (namely Johann Hutter, Jacob Kürsner and Sigmund Salminger) and they afterwards found a hearing with a few people. Their poison spread to such a degree, however, that they soon obtained a strong following whom they baptized in the gardens where they held their meetings. It was not long, however, before the City Council received the news of these happenings and no time was lost in checking this evil." At first the City Council tried to dissuade the converts whom they captured from their newly acquired faith but their attempts did not succeed very well. The captives would tell nothing about the meetings. A few of them were thrown into prison. Finally, however, as they would not recant, they were banished from the city.

345 Weis, p. 53, and Note 1. Hagen, II., p. 293. Heberle, p. 866. Egli: Aktensammlung, 1247.

346 The Mus. Helv. says in a certain fashion after having spoken of the sojourn in Nuremberg: hoc demum tempore fama de impio Hezeri libro percrebuit. From Hans Schlaffer's confession we take the following: "von Wahrheit wegen bekenne ich, dass ich ihrer viel gesehen, aber wenig darunter erkannt: allein Jacob Widmann, Jacob Kautz, Sigmund Hofer und Hansen Hut, ist jezt gefangen daselbs seit Maria Geburt sammt etlichen andern. Dann zu Nürnberg hab' ich gesehen Ludwig Hetzer und Hansen Denggen, treffliche gottesgelehrte, ernstliche zwei Männer; zu Regensburg, Oswald Blait", etc. Heberle in Theol. Stud. u. Krit., 1851, p. 128. Reference corrected in Heberle: Th. Stud. u. Krit., 1855, p. 871. Keller: von Staupitz; Keller: Reform., p. 423. Beck, 63.

347 Weis, p. 54, and Notes 1 and 2; p. 16, note. Ottius: Anab., pp. 4. 217. Roth: Augsburg, I., p. 231. Kolde: Hans Denck und die gottlosen Maler von Nürnberg, p. 63, Note.

In the late Summer, according to a communication of Urbanus Rhegius,—during the last week of August and the beginning of September, 1527—Hetzer and Denck were in Augsburg. [348] About this time too, the majority of the leaders of the Anabaptist party were gathered in a convention in this city. [349]

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned banishment, the number of Anabaptists in the city daily increased rapidly, especially when Jacob Dachser, Hans Denck, Ludwig Hetzer and other leaders spread abroad their teachings. Moreover most of the above-mentioned banished Anabaptists secretly returned to the city and even some of the Guild Members were won to their views. [350]

At the convention besides Ludwig Hetzer, Hans Denck and Jacob Kautz, there were present Jacob Gross of Waldshut, *Jacob Dachser* from Ingolstadt, [351] Siegmund

348 Weis, p. 54, and Note 3. Urbanus Rhegius: Zwen wunderseltzam Sendbrieff.

349 Weis, p. 54, and Note 4.

350 Heberle in Theol. Stud. u. Krit., 1855, pp. 866-867. Welser's augsburgishche Chronik, 1595, gives (III., 12) a translation of Gassari annales Augstburgenses ad a. 1527 (in Menken: Scr. rer. Germ. Vol. I) a report which at least in chronology is inaccurate. The following is taken from Paul von Stetten: Geschichte der Reichstadt Augsburg, I, 306, and based not only on the accounts of Gassarus and Sender, but also upon the Rathsdecreta of 1527. "In diesem Jahr hatten sich einige Schüler von dem schwärmerischen Urheber der Wiedertäufersecte, Th. Münzer. mit Namen Johann Hutten, Jacob Kürsner und Sigmund Salminger zu Augsburg eingeschlichen, und nachdem sie bei Einigen Gehör gefunden, ihr Gift dergestalt ausgestreut, dass sie gar bald einen starken Anhang bekommen, wovon sich bereits Viele in den Gärten, wo sie ihre Zusammenkünfte gehalten, taufen lassen. Der Rath bekam zwar hiervon bald Nachricht und versäumte keine Zeit, diesem Uebel Einhalt zu thun, wie er sie denn anfangs abmahnen, und nachdem solches nicht verfangen wollen, Einige gefangen setzen und die, so sich zum Widerruf nicht bequemen wollten, mit ihren Lehrern aus der Stadt schaffen lassen. Dem aber ungeachtet vermehrte sich ihre Anzahl fast täglich, sonderlich da Jacob Tachser und Hans Denk diese Lehre noch weiter ausgebreitet und die oben Benannten wiederum heimlich in die Stadt gekommen, auch so gar einige Zunftmeister auf ihre Seite gebracht."

351 *Jacob Dachser* from Inglostadt was an Anabaptist hymn-writer and poet. See Prantl: Gesch. d. Ludw. Max. Universit., I, 149.

Salminger from Munich, Hans Hulden of Biberach, Ulrich Trechsel, Pilgrim Marbeck, Peter Scheppach, a painter from Augsburg, a German knight named Leonhard from Nuremberg, *Leonard Schiemer*,[352] *Hans Schlaffer* from Austria,[353] *Thomas Waldhauser* from Steyer,[354] *Hans Leupold*,[355] *Jacob Widemann* from Memmingen,[356] Sigmund Hofer, Hans Gulden from Biberach in Franconia, *Eukarius Binder* from Coburg,[357] Johannes of Ingolstadt,[358] George Nospitzer from Lauingen,[359] Hans Kiessling from Friedberg,[360] Andreas Widholz from Augsburg, Max Mayer from Baiersdorf, Eithelhans Langenmantel, a patrician from Augsburg, *Hans Hut* from Haina in Franconia,[361] Lucas Hafner from Augsburg, George Maler of Chur, Hans Bechenknecht of Basle, and others, all conspicuous men.[362] There were more than 60 of these leaders gathered here, *Max Mayer* confessed.[363]

Christianity appeared to them as a power from God which qualified men to become disciples of Christ as it had qualified the early Christians. Hence they had courage to stand up for their convictions in spite of disgrace and insult, in spite of martyrdom and death. They were convinced that their concern was God's concern and that they were a leaven for future believers. They held themselves erect in those cruel times when they, together with their co-religionists, were robbed, persecuted, martyred and killed, both men and women alike. They could scarcely enter a place without being commanded by the magistrates to surrender all their goods to be burned by the police.

With their children, sick and weak, they had often to

352 *Leonard Schiemer* of Judenburg was martyred at Rothenburg-on-the-Inn, January 14, 1528. He was "ein wissenschaftlich gebildeter Mann". He had been a Franciscan monk but left his cloister and went to Nuremberg where he learned the trade of a tailor. Then he went to Vienna where he was converted to the Anabaptist position by Hans Hutten, and was baptized there by Oswald Belait. Later he travelled all about Bavaria teaching and baptizing and discussing his religious views with monks and priests. Finally he was captured and beheaded nobly testifying to his faith by his death. See van Braght, II, 12. Ottius: Ann., p. 46. Beck, pp. 59, 61. Mennonite Blät. 1885, No. 9. Evans, p. 37.

353 *Hans Schlaffer*, an evangelical teacher and highly gifted man who had formerly been a priest, was beheaded for his Anabaptist views at Schwatz-on-the-Inn along with Leonard Frick in the year 1528. See van Braght: Het bloedig toonel of Martelaars-Spiegel, 1685, II., 14 ff. or van Braght: Martyrology, English edition, Vol I., p. 50. Ottius: Annales, p. 46. Beck: Geschichtsbücher der Wiedertäufer, pp. 60, 63, 651. Stark: Gesch. d. Taufe u. d. Taufgesinnten, 1787, p. 200. Mennonit. Blättern, 1885, No. 6. Evans: An Episode, pp. 37-38.

354 Earlier a Catholic priest and soon to become a martyr in 1528. Beck, p. 65.

355 *Hans Leupold* was beheaded in 1528, the first victim of the persecution which Urbanus Rhegius organized at Augsburg. When condemned to die Leupold said to his judges that they had sentenced him "not to die, but through death to enter into eternal life."

356 Executed at Vienna in 1535.

357 *Eukarius Binder* was burned on October 25, 1527. Beck, p. 57. He was a fellow worker with the apostle Hans Hut on his missionary journeys. C. Meyer, pp. 214 and 225.

358 Mentioned by Hans Hut, September 16, 1527. C. Meyer.

359 Also called George von Passau.

360 Kiessling was arrested in Augsburg in 1527. Roth: Gesch. Ref. Augsburg, 1881, p. 219.

361 *Hans Hut* was born at Haina in Franconia. As an itinerant book-pedler he travelled over a large part of Germany and Austria and imbibed radical ideas. At Weissenfels, probably in 1524, he first came into contact with the Anabaptists. He joined the peasant's uprising, was with Münzer during the battle of Frankenhausen where the peasant bands were overwhelmed. At Bibra he appeared at Pentecost, 1525, and summoned the peasants to rise against the authorities. He was banished from Bibra and started on his wanderings once more. In 1526, Denck finally baptized him. Hut, being an enthusiastic sort of a man, won many converts to the Anabaptist party. Being "a man of simple and 'fiery' eloquence, and of passionate convictions, he wandered through South Germany and Austria preaching, baptizing and appointing apostles to carry on the work. In the mighty rise of the Anabaptist movement in Bavaria, Franconia, Swabia and Austria, between 1526 and 1528 his labors were of primary importance". He was a communist, didn't believe in taxes, oaths or civil magistracy, and was a pacifist. In general he was an extremist and came into frequent conflict with the more moderate Anabaptists such as Hübmeier, Denck and Hetzer. See Weis: Hans Denck, passim. Zeitschrift d. hist. Vereins f. Schwaben u. Neuburg, 1874, p. 224. In December 1527, Hans Hut died in prison but his body was publicly hung soon after and his body burnt. Heberle, pp. 852-860.

362 Weis, p. 54, Note 5. Keller: von Staupitz, p. 325.

363 Max Mayer confessed: "Zum dritten sind sie widerumb ungeverlich in dreien oder zweien tagen gein Augsburg in eines metzlers Hauss, der Fieder genannt, zusamen komen, sind ir ungeverlich mer dann *sechtzink* gewesen und aber der Hutt und Denck bei inen erschine und sich aldo verglichen." etc. Kreisarchiv of Nuremberg. Keller: Reform., p. 428.

seek caves in the mountains or go into the depths of the woods for shelter, and even there they were given no rest. They were smoked out of their caves; their huts in the woods were burned and the poor creatures were dispersed. On account of their doctrines they were treated unmercifully. The descriptions of their conditions often fill ones heart with shudders and tears. [364]

The brethren gathered here at Augsburg held a sort of "Synod" or Council, at which the common affairs of the party were discussed. The leader was Hans Denck, according to the confession of the Anabaptist, Max Mayer. He presided [365] and led the discussions, and as Vice President at his side sat Hans Hut. [366] Due doubtless to the influence of Denck a resolution was passed by the Assembly, that "the Christian should never seek dominion in unlawful ways." [367]

It was finally decided that Ulrich Trechsel and Peter Scheppach should go to Worms, while Ludwig Hetzer, Hans Denck, Gregory Maler and Hans Beckenknecht should go to Switzerland to act as apostles. [368]

Before the convention was adjourned the presence of these leaders was discovered. Some were captured. A disputation is supposd to have been held with those captured but at best it must have been a one-sided affair principally useful to the City Council to demonstrate the various errors of their captives. As before the greater part of the captives refused to retract and were thereupon publicly whipped with rods, driven out of town and banished. Some of the party chiefs, however, were retained and thrown in prison. Hetzer, Denck and a few of the leaders seem to have managed to escape from the city.

[364] Brons, p. 414.

[365] (a). Confession of George Nospitzer (a document in the archives of the city of Nuremberg.) (b). Confession of Max Mayer. (c). Letter of the City Council of Augsburg to the City Council of Strasbourg, September 20, 1527 (in Röhrich: Z. f. hist. Theol., 1860, p. 32.) (d). Report of Schlaffer concerning his meeting with other Anabaptists in Augsburg (Beck, p. 63). (e). Letter from the authorities of Augsburg to the authorities at Ulm (in the archives of Ulm, bearing the date of September 16, 1527, to be found in Roth: Augsburgs Ref. Gesch., 1881, p. 214). (f). C. Meyer, p. 213, cites the trial of Jacob Dachser of August 26, 1527, when he is asked among other questions "if the leaders of the Anabaptists are still in Augsburg". (g.). Confession of Hans Hut (in C. Meyer, pp. 221 ff). See also Keller: Reformation, pp. 426-428.

[366] Weis, p. 54, and Note 6. Heberle: Stud. u. Krit., 1855, pp. 867-868. Jörg: Deutschland in der Revolutionsperiode, p. 684. Evans, p. 150 f.

[367] Coutts: Hans Denck, p. 80.

[368] Weis, p. 54, and Note 7. Röhrich in Zeitschrift für hist. Theol., 1860, p. 32. Letter from the City of Augsburg to the City of Strasbourg, dated September 20, 1527.

At the time they left Augsburg the Anabaptist brotherhood was at the height of its growth. Their number at that time was about 1100 persons recruited from all walks of life. Nightly meetings were held. Besides Hut, the leaders who remained behind were the former priest Jacob Dachser of Ingolstadt, Sigmund Salminger, a former monk from Munich, and the furrier Jacob Gross of Waldshut whom we have already met at Strasbourg. But, as elsewhere, as the party increased in numbers and importance at Augsburg, stronger statutes against the sect were passed by the City Council, and the arrest of more of the leaders followed. Hut was captured in his hiding-place on the 23rd of October and was thrown into jail where he soon found his death in an unlucky attempt to escape. On December 7th his dead body was suspended from the gallows during the clanging of the alarm bell of the city and his body was soon afterwards burnt. [369]

After their fortunate escape from Augsburg the road to Switzerland led Hetzer, Denck and Beckenknecht to Ulm, where, possessing friends, they determined to rest a short time. The leader of the Anabaptists here at that

[369] Heberle: Stud. u. Krit., 1855, pp. 867-869. Jörg: opus cit., 710. Zw. Opp., ed. Schuler et Schultess, III, 357 (for the notice to Constance). Paul von Stetten: Geschichte der Reichstadt Augsburg, I, 306 ff: "Solchen nach versuchte der Rath zwar noch einmal die Güte und liess ein Religionsgespräch mit ihnen halten; allein es wollte sich auch hierauf ein grosser Theil nicht zum Widerruf verstehen, daher sie mit Ruthen ausgehauen und aus der Stadt geschafft, ihre Lehrer aber ins Gefängniss gelegt worden."

time was the former secular priest of St. Albans at Basle, Master Wilhelm Reubli, who took the brothers in under his own roof. Reubli had a goodly following of Anabaptists at Ulm. He had been, it will be remembered, a priest at Wyttikon near Zurich in 1522 where he joined the party of Hetzer, Grebel and Manz, and where he became an Anabaptist as early as August 1524. In January 1525, he was banished from Zurich, along with Hetzer and others. He worked then for a time in the environs of Schaffhausen, namely at Waldshut and Hallau. Later he returned to his native land of Swabia where through his own exertions he gathered many Anabaptists around him in the small villages. He left traces of his activity especially at Esslingen and was without any doubt the Brother Wilhelm who played an outstanding part as the shepherd of the Anabaptist community there and in surrounding small towns. But he did not remain long at Esslingen (for he is not named among the Anabaptists of that place by Pfaff, p. 472). He soon came to Ulm where in the summer of 1527 the Anabaptists gave the evangelical preacher Conrad Sam a great deal of trouble and many honest souls from Sam's congregation deserted him to join the Anabaptist community. A year later reports of the good work of Reubli at Ulm came from some of his followers there. As we have said, Reubli was personally acquainted with Hetzer for they had stood together with Manz and Grebel at the Zurich disputation of January 17, 1525 which ended in their banishment. It is also probable that Denck and Reubli had long been acquainted for they were at Basle together in the years 1521 and 1522. Reubli not only sheltered his Anabaptist friends Hetzer and Denck but documents have come down to us from the period of his Esslingen pastorate proving that his doctrines were in agreement with theirs. But in spite of their friendly reception at Ulm the friends did not remain there long, for as soon as the authorities learned that the "Apostles" to

the Anabaptists were in the city, the magistrates and the clergy proceeded energetically against them. [370]

The two friends, Hetzer and Denck, were forced to separate soon after this and on bidding each other farewell they parted never to see each other again. As Denck approached Basle about the end of September or the beginning of October, he was bent in body and mind with affliction and suffering. The germ of the plague had already commenced its deadly work. But the bodily pains were insignificant in comparison to his deep soul-suffering which we find expresed in his last letters and writings. The strife for a true and pure Christendom for which he had sacrificed all life happiness, all peace and all freedom was too great for his small remaining physical strength. [371] He died of the plague at the home of his old friend and teacher, Johannes Oecolampadius in the month of November, 1527, being still a comparatively young man. [372]

On September 15, 1527, several leaders of the Anabaptist party, among whom were the patrician *Eitelhans Langenmantel*, [373] Jacob Dachser, Hans Hut and Kürschner, were arrested along with many of the adherents of the community at Augsburg. A search was made at the same time for Ludwig Hetzer as one of the chiefs of the party. Hans Hut took oath on October 5, 1527, that Hetzer had gone to Meissen but this was probably said to shield him, for

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370 Weis, p. 55, and Note 1. Keller, p. 221. For an account of the life of Reubli see also Note 117 above. Heberle: Stud. u. Krit., 1855, pp. 869-871. Gayler, pp. 298, 306. Herzog: Oecolampadius, I., 91. Keim: die Reform. d. Reichstadt Ulm, 1851, p. 121.

371 Weis, p. 55.

372 Weis, p. 59, and Note 2. Denck was perhaps at most 32 years of age.

373 *Eitelhans Langenmantel* of Weissenhorn; nobleman of Augsburg; born 1475; beheaded May 1528. Article, Allegemeine Deutsche Biographie. J. Heller: Leben und Werke Albrecht Dürers, II, 1, 29; shows a portrait of Langenmantel by Dürer, painted in 1515. "H. Langenmantel, Büste eines Mannes in dem 40 er Jahres, mit kleinem Schnautz und Kinnbart, kurz abgeschnittenen Haaren und nach links gewendet. Diese Zeichnung ist mit mehr Sorgfelt als die andern angeführt. Höhe 9z. 4 l. Breite 6z. 3 l. Auf der Rüchseite steht von Dürers Hand: langmandle." Heberle, 861-3.

the probability is that after his departure from the home of his friend Wilhelm Reubli at Ulm, about the 16th of September, Hetzer remained in the Swabian Oberland "visiting the brethren" round about Ulm at Mindelheim and Kaufbeuren. No doubt Hetzer also visited towns near Augsburg, for example at Aislingen, Gundelfingen, Lauingen and Zusmarshausen, where there were Anabaptist communities. [374] At Mindelheim, Hetzer might count on a friendly welcome at the home of "his heart's brother" the old Wilhelm von Zell who leaned much towards the Anabaptists and who was also much venerated by Schwenkfeld. It is said, moreover, that at this time Hetzer made a visit to Donauwörth, doubtless to meet Sebastian Frank. [375]

At Augsburg, in the meanwhile, the rapidly increasing numbers of Anabaptists and the "synod" of August, 1527, had stung the City Council into action. As we have seen a number of the leaders of the sectaries had been seized and examined in an attempt to discover the extent and the peculiar tenets of this radical movement. Though torture had been used to extort confessions the results of the examination had been extremely meagre.

The fact that the movement continued to grow in spite of the threats of imprisonment and banishment led the members of the Swabian League, who met at Augsburg on February 16, 1528, to decree that the "sectaries were to be hunted down by armed bands—one hundred knights for each quarter—in the same way as were the peasants during the revolt of 1525. They were to be summarily put to death without process of law. Those who had recanted were to be beheaded, those who remained firm were

374 Keim, p. 277.

375 Christian Meyer in an article on "Wiedertäufer in Schwaben" to be found in "Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschite", Vol. 17, p. 248 ff, declares that Hetzer also went to Donauwörth, probably to visit Sebastian Frank. Doubtless he visited a number of small towns and cities in this part of South Germany, but it is to be doubted if his exact itinerary will ever be known.

to be burned. Women were to be drowned or burned." As to what should constitute guilt in their judgment it would be sufficient to examine separatists on one point only, that of rebaptism. It was in the face of this pronouncement that, after many months of wandering, Hetzer returned once again to Augsburg. An ancient chronicle of the 16th century declares that he was present at Augsburg, at Easter, 1528. [376] According to this chronicle at this time Denck, Hübmeier and Hut were already dead and Dachser and Langenmantel had been exiled from Augsburg.

The community of the Anabaptists at Augsburg had grown since the year 1527. The arrests and imprisonments and the investigations of the magistrates of Augsburg in 1527, had not diminished the zeal of the members of the community there. On the contrary, like their brother, leader and prophet, Ludwig Hetzer, they rejoiced to carry the cross of Christ. The Augsburg community had adopted the teachings of Denck and Hetzer; they followed Denck's manner of baptism which Hübmaier had taught the brethren at Augsburg: and they had subscribed to the 7 articles of Jacob Kautz.

The peculiar baptismal rite used by Denck has fortunately been preserved to us because it straightway became popular and was adopted by the Anabaptist party generally as their rite. It is as follows: "Those who have learned from Hans Denck proceed in this fashion: Before

376 In re. the City Council and Swabian League, see Evans: An Episode, etc., pp. 150-151, 173-174. Roth: Augsburg, I, pp. 234 et seq., 237 et seq. Letter of Eck to Duke George: "Die von Augsburg habent die revocierenden all auss gelassen." Meyer: Die Anfänge des Wiedertäufertums in Augsburg, pp. 251 ff. Urkunden zur Geschichte des schwäbischen Bundes, II, pp. 316 ff. Schornbaum: Zur Politik des Markgrafen Georg von Brandenburg, pp. 17 ff and especially pp. 264 ff. Will, pp. 224 ff. (excerpt from Müllner's Annals.)

In re. the Chronicle: Gassari: Chron. Aug. p. 177. This chronicle comes from the 16th century and yet in the notices regarding the Anabaptists it is often vague and untrue. It gives, however, the certitude of the news of the capture of Hetzer, April 12, 1528, a day, which is also called a decisive day in the Relatio histor. It is impossible to believe this is confused with Hetzer's exile of 1525. Keim, p. 277.

they baptize the novice, they recount to him seven evil spirits by which he is possessed. These he must first confess that he has, then he must renounce them. After he has thus renounced the seven evil spirits they recount to him seven good spirits, which he must receive and keep. If the novice will do all this, they give him the seal of fellowship or baptism. The seven evil spirits are these: fear of men, wisdom of men, understanding of men, art of men, counsel of men, strength of men, and salvation of men. The seven good spirits are: fear of God, wisdom of God, understanding of God, art of God, counsel of God, strength of God and blessedness of God." [377]

Hetzer preached angrily against the Lutheran and Zwinglian scholars who caused the persecution of his Anabaptist brethren. He zealously urged his brethren to guard the teachings of the brotherhood and to obey the laws of God. He bade them wait patiently for the long desired justice of God. He praised the new baptism which was performed with pomp and ceremony in the river Leeke nearby, the men naked, the women in bathing-suits, contrasting for them the times of persecution when baptism was performed by simple sprinkling on the forehead in the caves or hay lofts. Thus the community continued to prosper and grow. [378]

Three days before Easter, 1528, several members of the Anabaptist community at Augsburg arrived at the home of the tailor, Adolph Ducher, situated near the river Leeke, for the re-baptism. A sentry was posted at the gate of the property and windows of the house were covered with clothes and tapestry. On Easter morning, April 12, 1528, before sunrise about 200 persons, men and women, servants, kitchen-maids and strangers, assembled at this house, each one bringing, according to his means, food and

[377] Weis, pp. 33 and 34, and Note 1, page 34. Menius: Der Wiedertäufer Lehr und Geheimnist, etc. Luther's Works, II., p. 292.

[378] Keim, p. 278.

drink for the Lord's Supper, as well as money to distribute to the poor. The principal speaker was the shoemaker, Johann Sebold. At 5 o'clock in the morning several lookouts obtained a signal that there was to be feared a surprise attack upon them and therefore only 95 remained who at 7 o'clock in the morning were taken prisoners by the servants of the magistrates; the house was also burned. Imprisonment and sentences followed. Two days after Easter at 9 o'clock in the morning twenty-one men and eight women who had sworn not to return to Augsburg were conducted to the gate of the city and that afternoon six more women were exiled. Before the month of April was ended women were branded with red hot irons and their tongues were cut out. Johann Sebold was beheaded. The patrician George Regel and his wife fled from the city disguised as milk sellers. And similarly many others escaped. The Anabaptist party languished.

Among the first to be exiled was Ludwig Hetzer. The exalted joy of those who were banished was highly praised. But the ruin of their leaders, the continual disasters with which their work everywhere met was enough to discourage even a Hetzer. [379]

[379] Many details concerning the Augsburg Anabaptists are to be found in the Relatio histor. de progressu haeresium by Sender, a Benedictine monk, and also from the writings of Urbanus Rhegius. Keim, p. 279, "The *beneficium emigrandi* for non-conforming minorities may seem like a considerable advance in the direction of leniency, and that is unquestionably true in the case of a minority sufficiently well established to have a safe place to which its members may migrate (cf. Völker, p. 234). This was not the case, however, with the sectaries of the Reformation. They were everywhere proscribed. Moreover the various states had a way of warning neighboring states against any whom they had recently banished. (Strickler, *Actensammlung* I, no. 1878; Egli, *Actensammlung*, no. 1247; Röhrich, pp. 32 *et seq.*) Luther and his followers were probably entirely honest in looking upon banishment as less drastic than the death penalty. Their point of view is clear enough; sectaries must simply conform to the true faith or betake themselves hence. (Enders, 7, pp. 150 *et seq.*) But Luther probably never allowed himself to consider the consequences of such a policy. For its results from the standpoint of the sectaries, see the pathetic letter of Denck to Oecolampadius (Keller. Ein Apostel der Wiedertäufer, pp. 251 *et seq*). The story of the wanderings and death of Sebastian Frank bears eloquent testimony to the suffering imposed by the sentence of banishment." Quoted from Evans, An Episode, etc., p. 184, note.

He returned to his native land and to his father's home. Here he lived in retirement during a certain time engaged presumably with his literary works. Sebastian Frank said that he was at work on a German translation of Ecclesiastes. Even more certain is the fact that he conceived at this time his book on Christ—rumors of which reached Augsburg in January, 1529. He was also at work on his book of the lessons of the Scriptures in which for the erudite philosophers and the classical scholars, he pictured the Galilean fisherman. Afterwards, in prison, however, he rejoiced that these books had not been printed.

While he was at home, the new gospel of the Anabaptists made its entrance into Bischofszell and into the Thurgau. From Bischofszell, Hetzer went to visit Vadian at St. Gall. Here Vadian sought to show Hetzer his errors and pleaded with him to renounce his Anabaptist teachings. [380] As he left Thurgau, Hetzer had the feeling that he would never see his native land again for he felt within his heart the presentiment of his approaching death. [381]

[380] Keim, p. 279.
[381] Blaurer's account of his death.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Last Days of Ludwig Hetzer. His Martyrdom at Constance. August 1528 — February 1529.

Not many cities in the neighborhood of Bischofszell would allow Hetzer to take refuge within their walls. Yet Constance nearby had not denied him entrance. Therefore in the summer of 1528 he bent his steps towards that city which had been the refuge of so many exiles. Here he found once again his old friend and patron, George Regel, the exiled patrician of Augsburg, who had arrived at Constance, August 7, 1528, with his family. [382] Here, too, dwelt the kindly Ambrosius Blaurer [383] and his brother, the City Councilor, Thomas Blaurer. Finally, here also lived his zealous friend and "brother" Achatius Fremd, to whom Hetzer had dedicated one of his books. After his arrival at Constance, in spite of his former experiences and the fact that Anabaptist preachers and leaders had been exiled and imprisoned here, Hetzer sought the company of the little remnant of Anabaptists who dwelt in this city.

Constance, said its historian Eiselin, writing in 1850, is the same now as it was in the days of the Great Council, which met there a century before the time of Hetzer; and of the city itself this is still substantially true. It is still a mediaeval city; many of the streets are paved with cobblestones as of yore, and any one, with a copy of Von der Hardt's ancient map in his hand, could easily find his way about the town. True, some changes there have been in the last five hundred years. There are newer and more adequate bridges; the inhabitants have spread beyond the

[382] Letter to Zwingli.
[383] *Ambrosius Blaurer* was a German Reformer born at Constance, April 12, 1492, died at Winterthur, Switzerland, December 6, 1564. He studied at Tübingen where he became acquainted with Melancthon. He entered a monastery, but espousing the Reformation doctrines he began to preach at Constance in 1525 and became a leader of the Reformation there. He was the author of twenty-two hymns.

old city walls; thriving suburbs now hedge in the city on the land side and where the old walls stood one now finds broad boulevards lined with avenues of trees. Of the thirty towers and gateways which then existed only seven remain. The nave of the cathedral with its columns still stands as in the days of John Hus, but nearly every other part is more recent. Only one of the flag stones of the cathedral remains, namely, that on which the Reformer stood to hear his sentence, "and from that day to this," says an old tradition, "that stone has never been dry." The old fish and fruit markets may still be traced; the streets are everywhere the same, although the names of some have been changed. Constance today has hardly stepped out of the Middle Ages; it is a thoroughly picturesque and loveable city of the quaint mediaeval world. [384]

Constance had had its due share of mediaeval troubles; its had had fires through which whole quarters of the city had been wiped out; it had entertained a pope, cardinals, emperors, kings, knights, clergy and private men from more than a score of nations to the number of nearly a hundred thousand at the time of the Great Council which had burnt Hus in 1415; in the city and in its environs were to be found its full share of churches, chapels and monastic foundations; the Jews had been occasionally persecuted in good mediaeval fashion; and, in short, partly as a result of the Great Council, in Hetzer's time the town was scarce beginning to regain its wonted morality. [385]

From an abstract of the records of the city of Constance compiled by Christopher Schulthais, we learn that Ludwig Hetzer, a leading and scholarly Anabaptist, went before the Judge of his own free will, after he had been imprisoned six weeks, because he had married another woman while his wife was still living, and had persuaded her to marry him on the ground that her former marriage was not binding because her husband was not an Anabaptist. Another notice declared that Hetzer had had 13 wives, and still another authority states that he had had 24 wives. [386]

When one takes into consideration the strict morals

[384] Eustace J. Kitts: Pope John, etc., London, 1910, pp. 237-8. Marmor: Alter Fuehrer durch die Stadt Konstanz 1864, pp. 19 f.

[385] Kitts: Pope John the Twenty-third, p. 246; Hermann von der Hardt: Rerum Concilii Oecumenici Constantiensis, IV., p. 45. Ulrich von Richental: Chronik des Constanzer Concils, p. 183.

[386] Keim, p. 281. Hetzer has been accused of seducing a maid at the home of Oecolampadius—but there is slender evidence to prove it and certainly nothing in the friendly relations between Hetzer and Oecolampadius betrays such an affair. Röhrich, T. W., in Zeitschrift f. d. hist. Theol., 1860, pp. 37-38. The following declaration concerning Ludwig Hetzer was said to have been made by Wolfgang Capito in response to some secret inquiries concerning him in 1529. "Ohngefähr uff anderthalb oder zwei Jahr verschienen, sey bemeldter Ludwig anherkommen, habe er ihn in sein Haus als einen Gelehrten zu sich genommen, uff ein Monat ungefährlich gehalten; als er ihn aber wankelmüthig und weibschweifig befunden, des Wiedertaufs auch Verdacht gehabt, habe er sich sein entschlagen. Darnach sey er gen Worms gezogen, etlich Propheten daselbst verteutscht und sich der Wiedertaufs angenommen und er und Johannes Denk und Jakob Kautz zu dem Wiedertauf bewegt. Mittler Zeit sey ein hübsche junge Frauensperson in sein Capitonis Haus, schwanger eines Kinds, von Basel kommen, gesagt, dass bemeldter Ludwig ihr die Ehe verheissen, also er Capito ihr Geld vorgestreckt, als aber Ludwig zu Worms dazwischen auch hab müssen weichen und wiederkommen, hab er sich solcher Person nit wollen beladen. Dess und andern wankelmütigen Wesens unternehmen, dadurch er abgeschieden, solche Person verlassen und zu üppigem schändlichen Wesen bracht, also dass sie kürzlich in unserer Stadt wieder schwanger ersehen ward." We hear no more of the young mother—which is strange. It was written in 1529—probably after the death of Hetzer. *"The odium which fell on the Protestant ministers for aiding and urging Hetzer's death sufficiently accounts for their subsequent endeavors to damage his pure fame."* van Braght, pp. 100-101. Thomas Blaurer said that Hetzer was soiled by many carnal sins, but Keim declares that Blaurer's book is untrustworthy in many instances. Blaurer continues: "Hetzer admitted openly at Constance that he had often recovered from his sins and also often fell into them again....He allowed himself to be compromised as an adulterer with several women at Constance!" Keeping in mind the short time Hetzer dwelt in Constance before he was imprisoned it would seem that even if he were guilty of adultery, as Blaurer insinuates, the latter must certainly have overstated his case! Blaurer continues by saying that with tears in his eyes he doubted his power to correct such a miserable man! Hetzer's enemies weaken their case against him greatly by not agreeing to tell the same story. At Constance he is called an adulterer; after Hetzer's death Capito suddenly remembers that Hetzer was the father of a child of a maid-servant who worked for Oecolampadius; another authority states that Hetzer had thirteen wives, another twenty-four, and still another twenty-nine wives. To the present writer, the whole affair smacks of the fabulous.

of the Anabaptists, and the fact that many honest minded women joined this sect who went courageously to their death for their faith, it is clear that these women were of a high moral type and only sought the association of the Anabaptist teachers to be taught and baptized by them. Yet it is not surprising, in those rude times, when priests were customarily such immoral persons, that false and evil stories which many people honestly believed were circulated about the Anabaptist leaders. The cause of this may have been that many persons unjustly thought that all Anabaptists were polygamists. [387]

Yet the apostolic brethren or pacifistic Anabaptists—with whom Hetzer was associated—carefully excluded from their community any person, no matter how innocent, who was even suspected of such indiscretions. [388]

The previous reputation of Hetzer, moreover, was entirely irreproachable. [389] The intimate and continued intercourse with such chaste men as Michael Sattler and Hans Denck is enough to guarantee Hetzer's own morality.

Everywhere evil and false reports were spread abroad regarding the Anabaptists. An old manuscript relating to them says: "Also people said everywhere many slanders and evil things of them (the Anabaptist brethren) and horrible lies, such as that they had goats-feet and ox-feet. Also people lied about them saying that they had wives

[387] Anna Brons, p. 414. Unfortunately some of the leaders of the Anabaptists at Münster did sanction polygamy on the ground that it was sanctioned in the Old Testament.

[388] Brons, p. 415. Weis, pp. 3-9. Sebastian Frank, in his Ketzer-Chronik, refers to the simple life and the strenuous godliness of the Anabaptists. W. Capito writes of their witness for Christ, and the true brotherliness of some Anabaptists. (Arnold, I., 2, p. 266). J. Nicoladini, in Bünderlin, Berlin, 1893, p. 32, says they were simple, unostentatious, courteous, *strictly moral people*, whose conviction and extraordinary spirit of sacrifice must be acknowledged as an inspiration from the heart. Coutts, p. 24.

[389] Brons, p. 415. Unless we except the charge said to have been made by Capito after the death of Hetzer. See Note 386 above.

in common. They were called low fellows, seducers, revelers, revolutionists and Anabaptists." [390]

The specific charge brought against Hetzer, according to Thomas Blaurer, was that he entered into matrimonial relations with Anna Regel, the wife of his friend and patron at Augsburg, when he was already married to her servant Appolonia.

Keim states that Hetzer was made a prisoner, not because he was an Anabaptist, not even because he denied the deity of Christ, but solely because of adultery. As a matter of fact, however, it doesn't seem reasonable that the magistrates of Constance would bother with the charge of adultery—which was not considered a very serious sin in those days—as long as they could prove that Hetzer was an Anabaptist or that he had denied the deity of Christ. And the magistrates had abundant proof of both of these facts. It is difficult to imagine therefore, why they should have brought against him the charge of adultery. [391]

During these weeks of imprisonment [392] while his case was pending Hetzer lived on bread and water and the state of his health was very bad. At first he was very much discouraged for he seemed to know intuitively that the authorities were plotting to take his life even though the regular penalty for being an Anabaptist preacher at Con-

[390] Brons, 415. "Man hat auch allenthalben vil Lesterung und Uebels von ihnen (den Brüdern) gesagt und grausame Lügen, als dass sie Gaissfüsse und Ocksenklauen hätten. Auch lug man über sie, sie hätten die Weiber gemein. Man schalt sie Gartenbrüder, Verfürer, Schwärmer; Aufrührer und Wiedertaüfer."

[391] Keim goes on to say "that it was only a question of former immorality against which the City Council was active with praiseworthy results by a series of decrees by which "the priests with their prostitutes" were driven out; then in 1526 the houses of ill-fame were closed, while in 1527 a searching prohibition was effected and between 1527 and 1529 a multitude of various abuses were abolished." On the 7th of August, 1529, Ambrose Blaurer, Zwick and Metzler appeared before the City Council with a complaint that the law against prostitution was not in operation in many cases because, for example, the life of dissipation still continued in the convents of the city.

[392] The chronicle of the Mayor says six weeks while Blaurer says three months.

stance was exile. [393] Finally he seems to have accepted the idea of death and was comforted and cheered somewhat by the encouraging words which he received in prison from his friend Wilhelm von Zell.

On Wednesday, February 3, 1529, his fate was decided. The royal governor, Jacob Zeller, one of the most fervent members of the evangelical party at Constance and the presiding officer of the City Council, acted as Judge and condemned Hetzer as guilty. The charge rested on his scandalous double liaison. Hetzer was then led off and the judges consulted together. The usual punishment for adultery or fornication was severe but it was only a term of imprisonment and a fine. But in cases of repetition, or of carrying off one of the wives for the adultery, or in case of a silent acknowledgement of adultery the penalty of death was ordered. [394] A unanimous verdict of "guilty" was pronounced. "Ludwig Hetzer would be better dead than living." [395] He was again led before the Judge and his condemnation was read to him. Hetzer accepted it, according to the narration of Thomas Blaurer, *with an indescribable joy and courage.* He acted in such a Christian manner until his death, that his conduct was beautiful to behold. His heart and his conscience were so marvelously consoled by God that he seemed to have found God in his heart more truly than ever before.

He obtained twenty-six hours more in prison and had permission to receive all his friends. All day long his little cell was full of his friends; the men of the City Council, the bourgeois, the clergy and the Anabaptists came to visit him. Ambrosius Blaurer was absent in the Thurgau near Bischofszell, the native land of Hetzer (whence on March 15, 1529, Blaurer wrote to Zwingli). But Hetzer received Thomas Blaurer, Johann Zwick and his assistant,

393 Vögelin: Constanzer Chronik.
394 Constanzer Zuchtordnung for the Spring of 1531.
395 "L. Hätzer sey wäger todt als lebendig."

Johann Metzler, Johann von Ulm and many others. The two clergymen, Zwick and Metzler, Hetzer hardly wished to see; indeed he showed his dislike for them. They were a little annoying. However he spoke very sincerely to the gentle, peaceful Thomas Blaurer.

"Now," Hetzer cried, "God has broken my body, and this which I had believed impossible—he has delivered me from my prison and has given me his grace." He asked to be remembered to Ambrosius Blaurer and to the preachers of the Thurgau, his country. But, adds Thomas Blaurer, *he did not admit his sins* nor his ambitions. After he told his friends that his book on Christ and his book on the lessons from the Scriptures had not yet been printed, he gave the manuscript of the book on Christ to Thomas Blaurer with the earnest prayer not to give it official publicity. Later, on September 30, 1552, Ambrosius Blaurer refused to give this manuscript to the library of Fugger at Augsburg and after a second reading he decided to throw it into the fire. [396] The general tenor of this book was known while Hetzer lived, for Zwingli had read it and advised him not to print it, and some of his other friends had borrowed it and copied it without letting him know about it. Urbanus Rhegius, for example, knew much about it and wrote on January 22, 1529, to Thomas Blaurer to make sure that this "poisonous plant" disappeared. [397] *The probability is that Hetzer was thrown in prison for preaching as an Anabaptist and that he was*

396 Ambrosius Blaurer to Myconius in Mus. helvet., p. 110 ff. There was an attempt to print the book in Zurich but Zwingli discouraged this as may be inferred from his conversation at Marburg in 1529: quem—librum c. divinitatem Christi ipse oppresserit, ne in lucem prodiret—after the capture of Hetzer. It is unknown why Hetzer chose Zurich as a place to print it in 1528. Ambrosius Blaurer was at that time a clergyman at Biel. A travelling doctor wished to have a copy made for the library of Fugger in Augsburg, but Blaurer refused his request saying that it was the last wish of Hetzer that the book should not be published. He thereupon read it again and burned it. Issell, p. 88. See also letter XI in Appendix.
397 See letter VIII in Appendix.

condemned to die because of this book—the accusation of adultery being only a means to this end.

Everyone wished to have a last word with him. When one of his Anabaptist companions took leave of him Hetzer begged him to ask the Anabaptists not to forget him but to disregard what his enemies said of him. On the day he was to die he appeared to be happy. He nodded to all who spoke to him and begged them to sit up with him during the night, to be gay, to talk and to sing. His friends sang long psalms with him as well as hymns of patience, of the good will of God, and of God's mercy. They spoke a great deal of his translation of the Prophets.

Hetzer regarded as his best work this translation of of the Bible into German and he regretted his arrest for he wished to do much more similar work. He read a Hebrew psalm which Thomas Blaurer had brought to him and he discussed the language of this psalm as if he had forgotten his approaching death.

Finally he returned to his own sad plight and asked all those present, strangers and friends alike, to kneel to ask of God courage and perseverance. At the dawn of the fatal day, the 4th of February, 1529, he knelt with his friends, of whom the chamber was full. He prayed to God with such earnestness that even Johann Zwick had never heard nor known its equal. Then Hetzer added a few words of exquisite beauty declaring that it was permissible to baptize children, and he spoke of his love for them.

Besides this he deplored the lies of those who preached without a strong faith and without being sure of their doctrines, and he condemned the false faith which is in the mouth but which is not in the heart. As the moment of his death approached he became fatigued by the discussions and said to himself: if God had guarded him better he might have been able to have walked better.

Then he was brought to the council chamber where

he was obliged to wait for a few moments. Here again he begged his listeners to pray to God for him. He prayed seriously and fervently saying: "Because of my sins I am not worthy to die by the way of torture." Everybody wept.

Once again they officially announced his sentence. "I am satisfied," said Hetzer, with peace and composure. He begged the mayor and the bailiff that he might be allowed to see his wife, Appolonia, and his father. This was granted him, and he admonished them to love justice and mercy and he declared that their lives would be good and God would be satisfied if they lived rightly. Moreover he begged them to visit all the imprisoned Anabaptists and besought them not to be disconsolate at his death. [398]

After the executioner had bound him he turned towards those who had assembled. The people of Constance, he declared, should not only have the Word of God in their mouths, but also in their lives. The gospel should not only be proclaimed in fruitless words, nor should it remain a mere show, but they should make their behavior conform with it.

Furthermore, he added, if anyone wishes to say to me, "Doctor, cure thyself first!" to such a one I will reply that not one of God's chosen ones can come too late. "Some God calls in their first hours: Some towards the eleventh hour. God has led me deeply into Hell, but none the less he has raised me very high and led me out." Then he begged the people to pray with him and to say after him:

"Almighty God, dear faithful Father, have pity today and turn not away thine eyes from thy poor instrument, Ludwig Hetzer, who is led out on account of his sin! Manifest thyself to him, uphold him! Oh God, wilt thou keep with him the covenant which thou hast made with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, though Jesus Christ,

[398] Brons, p. 415.

thy son, our Savior." [399]

In like manner he spoke and prayed on the scaffold before the assembled citizens. He compared the Word of God with a rich gentleman who had in his household all sorts of vessels some for his shame and some for his honor. He did not wish to blame anyone, and he hoped no one would be angry with him. "It is the Lord," he said "who leads us through the door of death into eternal life." [400] Many courageous men wept as they listened to his words. Finally a man came up to Hetzer and begged his forgiveness if he had provoked him. "I will willingly do that," answered Hetzer, "else it will be injurious, not to thee, but to me." He thereupon begged the man to live a better life. "I am worried about thee, but correct thyself." [401] This was because this man at different times had offended his neighbors.

Tranquilly, without sadness and without fear, he took his road which led outside of the city speaking to the friends who accompanied him, thanking God with his prayers, speaking pleasantly with the executioner, recommending divine and fruitful things to the people, in place of angry and useless small talk.

He also thought of his Anabaptist brethren who had been condemned to death. How rich the harvest had been during this prosperous year: Manz, Hut, Langenmantel, Sattler, Hübmeier!

Near the place of execution he experienced a moment of fear "but God fortified him!" [402] Thomas Blaurer describes the last moments of Hetzer in the following manner:

At the place of execution he thus addressed the bystanders: "If I during my life have injured any one of you, forgive me. I am a man, and have, alas! more often than is right, fallen; often, when I contended for the victory, I was weak enough to yield to the temptation. I, as a penitent sinner, have repented of this. [403] In my wanderings through life I have often in great bitterness of spirit earnestly besought of God; yea, I have said before him, if he be not weak or powerless, that he would curb so weak and reprobate a man. Well I know that I am unworthy of life. I am undeserving of his mercy. Too much have I offended thy mercy, O my God. Thou couldst not degrade thyself by rescuing me who continually plunged lower. Nevertheless, I thank thee that thou hast spared my life, that by these my last words I may be the deliverer of many, many immortal souls." As he thus spake he looked towards heaven with beaming eyes. But the people were touched, and filled with compassion and wept. [404] He placed himself within the circle and the executioner loosened his fetters so that his hands were free. Then taking a Hebrew psalter which was offered to him, he read the 25th Psalm begging the people to kneel as he fearlessly translated it aloud. As he came to the 15th verse, where it says: "My eyes are always on the Lord for he will lead my feet out of the net" (Ps. 25:15) he looked down at the cord which bound him. Everyone spoke of it with great earnestness and they wept. Then together with the onlookers he repeated the Lord's Prayer. He added to this a short commentary and finally he prayed to God "in thee

399 Brons, p. 415. "Allmächtiger Gott, lieber getreuer Vater, Du wollest Dich auch heute erbarmen und Deine Augen nicht abwenden von Deinem geringen Werkzeug, Ludwig Hetzer, welcher hinausgeführt wird um seiner Sünd willen! Erzeig Dich ihm, unterhalt ihn! O Gott, wollest an ihm halten den Bund, den Du gemacht hast mit Abraham, Isaak und Jacob, durch Jesum Christum Deinen Sohn, unsern Seligmacher."

400 Brons, p. 416.

401 Brons, p. 416.

402 The ancient account says: "doch Gott stärkte ihn."

403 This does not indicate, by any means, that Hetzer admitted his guilt of any crime imputed to him. It means simply that like all of the great saints such as Augustine and Francis of Assisi he confessed himself a sinner. It was an expression of humility, not of crime.

404 van Braght: Martyrology, p. 100. Hast: Geschichte der Wiedertäuffer, p. 223. Blaurer: wie L. Hetzer zu Constantz, etc.

have I trusted, let me not be put to shame." (Ps. 25:2.)

Next the executioner undressed him and bound him anew. For a moment Hetzer remained standing hesitating to kneel, and turning pale said with a sigh: "Oh, my God, what is going to become of me?" "Come, God will not abandon thee," someone said to him. "The flesh is truly weak," he replied. [405]

The friends who stood nearby comforted him: This cannot harm thee; thou hast completed the work God gave thee to do; he will not confound thee, because thou hast always praised him before all the world.

Then Hetzer cried out resolutely: "It is well, and it is done in the name of God!" [406] He kneeled down bravely and held his head courageously until he was beheaded.

* * * * *

Everybody praised God because of the brave way in which he died. "No one has with such charity, so courageously or so gloriously *laid down his life for Anabaptism,* [407] as Hetzer," said Thomas Blaurer. "He was like one who spake with God and died." [408]

* * * * *

"Glory and thanks be to Christ!" wrote Thomas Blaurer on the 5th of March to Wilhelm von Zell—to whom he dedicated the above description of Hetzer's death —for the consolation of all Christians and in honor of the courageous manner in which death was met by his friend, Ludwig Hetzer.

"Dear Wilhelm, if thou considerest Hetzer's crime,

405 "O mein Gott, wie soll mir's gehen!" "Ei, Gott wird dich nicht verlassen," rief einer ihm zu. Er antwortete: "das Fleisch ist wahrlich schwach." Letter of Zwick.

406 "Wohlan, das ist mir in Gottes Namen!" Letter of Zwick.

407 Thomas Blaurer could not have declared more strikingly that Hetzer was innocent of any crime—and that he was killed as an Anabaptist martyr; Not as a bigamist!

408 van Braght: Martyrology, p. 100. Hast: Geschichte der Wiedertäufer, p. 223. Blaurer: wie L. Hetzer zu Constantz, etc.

thou findest a great deal of disgrace and shame, but leave the disgrace of the sin and turn thine eyes to the mercy of God and consider the beautiful and perfect work, which God has accomplished through his servant, where there is only honor and glory even in the midst of death and sorrow." [409]

Not only the mild Thomas Blaurer spoke thus but also the more vigorous and severe Johann Zwick wrote in his letter of February 6, 1529, to Ambrosius Blaurer:

Constance, February 6, 1529.

"Almighty God be with you always, amen.

Dear Master Ambrose, know that on the 4th of February, Hetzer was executed with the sword. I have much to write you concerning it, if I had but time. On the 3rd of February he was brought up and received judgment. Many of our good friends were with him on that day, and remained with him through the night, till the morning on which he was beheaded. Among them in particular was your brother Thomas, with whom he had much discourse. He conducted himself well and with propriety; God be praised in his behalf. He had, however, not the least desire to dispute. The assistant once asked him concerning Christ, to which he gave a short answer. I also asked him, whether he did not believe that he had forgiveness of sins through the blood of Christ? To this he gave the strange reply, what is the blood of Christ? and entreated us to be brief. This we did, so that he contended very little indeed with us, nor we with him. I observed to him that he had something else to do. Besides, God indeed tried him with many trials of his sin; therefore I conversed as little as possible with him. He was, however, very cheer-

409 "Wann du, geliebter Wilhelm, die Missethat Hetzers ansiehst, findest du Schmach und Schand zu Haufen, lass aber Sünd Schand seyn und wende deine Augen auf Gottes Barmherzigkeit und sieh an das schöne treffliche Werk, so Gott ihm als seinem Diener gewirkt hat, so ist nichts dann Ehr und Glorie auch inmittem im Tod und Leid."

ful, as cheerful as a man can be who knows that he must soon die. Sixtus was also with him, and John of Ulm, and Matthew, and some others. The room was full of people, who sang psalms the whole night through; for he himself sought as much as possible thereby to overcome some of his troubles. Hard, hard, conflicts did he have concerning the wife of Regel, and also on account of Appolonia.[410] He was not, however, in the least fanatical, like many baptists. He addressed us all as his dear brethren. In the morning he constrained us all to pray with him: the room was very full indeed. He then prayed to God with a seriousness such as I have never seen or heard. After that he gave an exhortation to us preachers, and mingled with it a few words on infant baptism, that we should not enforce it, as if we must whether or no baptize the children; but suffer it to be quite free. He spoke also very briefly and with very few words on some other points; but after such a sort that no one could reprove him. Would to God that we had in print what he said to us! Oh! it is very well to dispute of many things when we have not much else to do; but when death draws near, then all disputing is at an end. Therefore he also said: "With God's help, the longer he had lived the more quiet he would have been." When led forth before the council house, he gave forth an excellent exhortation to the bailiff and council, and said, that they should execute their office with fidelity: in particular, they should not leave the prisoners so comfortless. At the upper market he also gave an excellent exhortation, how that Constance ought not to have God's word in the mouth only, but exhibit it in the life. Therewith he offered up a fervent prayer, so that many of the people wept with him; and throughout the whole of his progress he was cheerful and unappalled. At the ring

[410] No doubt he was troubled that they, innocent persons, should have their names dragged into his trial.

he entreated all to pray with him. Everyone kneeled down, while with clear voice and a fearless heart, he recited the 25th Psalm, "Unto Thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul, etc." every one repeating it after him with great solemnity and with tears . . . . But he soon said, "Well, it is the will of God." He knelt boldly down, and held still courageously until he was executed. In short, he suffered with greater propriety than I had given him credit for. Moreover, they who knew not that he was a heretic and a Anabaptist would never have guessed it. A more glorious and manful death was never seen in Constance. And many, many of us, his adversaries, who were present, expected that he would have said something on account of our doctrine and against our preachers: but not a word. We were all with him to his end; and may the Almighty, the eternal God, grant to me and to the servants of his word the like mercy; in the day when he shall call us home. Amen. February 6th, 1526.

I am thine,
Johann Zwick." [411]

* * * * *

One would hardly suppose that Ludwig Hetzer would be allowed to speak so long and so much to the people when it was the rule to strive to prevent just such a thing. In many such cases a man was mistreated to such an extent that he was sentenced to have a peg stuck through his tongue or his mouth gagged or his speech was drowned out by the beating of drums. Less than a year before the noble martyr, Michael Sattler, had had his tongue cut out before being led to the stake. They would stand about as much from Ludwig Hetzer as these same folk of Constance had not long since stood from Johannes Huss! [412]

[411] Museum helveticum, vol. VI., pp. 113-115. Briefwechsel Thomas und Ambrosius Blaurer, No. 135. Issell: Die reformation in Konstanz, 86-88. van Braght: Martyrology, pp. 97-100, Vol. I.
[412] Brons, p. 417.

More probably before Hetzer was taken prisoner he taught publicly out in the open market-place and one day he spoke to the people of the likeness of the rich householder of God to whom some of his own vessels brought him honor and others, base things—and with each in his place God fulfilled and exhibited his aim. On another occasion, likewise under the open sky, Hetzer translated the 25th Psalm into German for his great congregation—and following this all repeated the Lord's Prayer.

These public teachings may well have been the reason Hetzer was taken prisoner: his writings about Christ brought him the death sentence. [413]

When we realize that Zwingli prevented the publication of Hetzer's book on Christ, when we realize that Urbanus Rhegius wrote to Ambrosius Blaurer in Constance "to keep a watchful eye on this destroyer of the church," and when we realize further that Hetzer was a leader of the Anabaptist party, it would seem that his death was more a matter of church politics than of morals. [414]

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413 Samuel M. Jackson: Selections from Zwingli's Writings, p. 148. "The Anabaptists were popularly believed to be capable of all the crimes on the calendar, and the probability is that *Hetzer really* was innocent of the accusation and *died for his faith*. Anyhow his death was considered by many as that of a martyr, and was surely faced with religious extasy and commemorated by the Anabaptists." Dr. Ludwig Keller (Die Reformation, 1895, p. 454, Note 1) does not believe Hetzer was punished for polygamy.

Why Thomas Blaurer, one of the City Councilors of Constance, should write so eloquently of Hetzer, whom he had condemned to die—is difficult to understand. Perhaps many citizens of Constance—seeing this noble death of Ludwig Hetzer—wanted to know why the man was beheaded. This may have been the reason Blaurer wrote his book.

414 Issell, p. 85. This is the opinion of a man prejudiced against Hetzer.

"He was condemned for the sake of divine truth, and nobly bore witness to it by his blood." [415]

415 Chronicle of the Moravian Brethren. "An attempt has been made to destroy the value of his dying testimony to divine truth, by the assertion that he died not for his faith, but for the crime of adultery, having intermarried with no less than thirteen, some say twenty-four wives. The monstrous and incredible nature of the charge would be its sufficient refutation, even were counter evidence entirely wanting. *No such charge, however, was made against him either during his life time, or at the trial previous to his death.* The contemporary narratives given above (Zwick's letter, etc.) fully corroborate this statement. From 1523 till late in the year 1526, we find him in intimate correspondence with, and enjoying the friendship of Zwingli and Oecolampadius, and for many months during that period he was an intimate in their families. And when in 1527, he again began publicly to preach Anabaptist sentiments, *there is not in the letters of Capito to Zwingli, among all the violent language concerning him, the least word indicative that he led an immoral life.* The odium which fell on the Protestant ministers *for aiding and urging his death*, (he was imprisoned at the instigation of Urbanus Rhegius) sufficiently accounts for their *subsequent* endeavors to damage his pure fame." van Braght, pp. 100-101.

Chapter XX.

Hetzer's Theological Beliefs.

There are two distinct phases in the development of Hetzer's theological beliefs. In the first we find him an enthusiastic young priest growing out of the dogmas of the Roman church into the doctrines of the Reformed church. At this stage of his development he was much influenced by the preaching, teachings and writings of Zwingli, who was then the leading figure of the Reformation in Switzerland. But even in those days, being possessed of an independent and inquisitive mind, he did not accept blindly all of Zwingli's doctrines.

The final phase of Hetzer's theological development—the stage of his intellectual awakening in which his characteristic doctrines are fully developed—comes after the break with Zwingli and indeed after he comes under the strong intellectual, mystical and religious influence of Hans Denck.

The Preface to the Prophets proves that there was an assimilation of the theological convictions of these two friends. It is not easy to fix the time more exactly than that this assimilation began at Strasbourg, but at all events their views had been quite different before this time. This is clear if one reads the preface to Malachi which was written as late as the summer of 1526. In the years before he met Denck, Hetzer believed whole-heartedly in the literal and verbal inspiration of the Scriptures. In his preface to Malachi, for example, he wrote: "The Scriptures are the consoling words of the Father of Consolation to his Christians, wherein he turns his face graciously towards us and offers us the hidden treasures of his Scriptures." Therefore a Christian never ceases to wonder and to be greatly astonished "over the Words of God, written by the Holy Spirit, to whom these words are so dear that not the tiniest dot has been added." Here he is pleading for a rigidly verbal inspiration of the Bible. Not a "t" has been

crossed nor an "i" dotted without the express sanction of the Holy Spirit.

And yet he even then bore within himself the seeds which were to take fruit in his later, more advanced views. For example in 1526 he said concerning the reading of the Scriptures: "On the humble rests the Spirit of God covering them with his wings. They obtain consolation from the Scriptures through the assistance of the Holy Spirit, by means of the inward visitation of the Spirit. God reveals his Word only to the poor, the fearful, and the desolate."

A second interesting fact is the important position he ascribes to Christ before he came under the influence of Denck. [416] The atoning power of Christ and his supernatural personality were accepted at this time without question by Hetzer. "Of the precious Body of our Lord" and of "the Blood of Christ" and of "the Christ whose bliss is eternal" he does not speak except in 1523 and 1524. Even as late as 1525 it is through the merits of Christ that God pardons. In 1526 in the preface to Malachi he spoke of "the gracious Christ". He spoke moreover, of his faith in the scriptural passages relating to the Lord's Supper. He said that we find ourselves reconciled and delivered through the sufferings of Christ in the Eucharist, and he blamed the Roman mass because it destroyed the precious sufferings of Christ and his out-poured blood. [417] And again he blames the Roman church because it puts the healing and the forgiveness of its priest higher than that of Christ.

Christ is to him (we are struck with this from the first line of his writings) the model who fortifies us in poverty, discontent, fear, trouble and suffering. [418]

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[416] The Swiss historian, Füssli, is quite mistaken when he declares that Hetzer denied the deity of Christ as early as 1523 or 1524. Füssli, iii, Cxxix; Keim, 265; Preface to Malachi.

[417] Keim.

[418] See his "Evangel. Zechen..", preface to the "Sacrament der Danksagung" and the preface to "Malachi".

Denck rendered a valuable service to Hetzer and to his friends by leading them to a clear cut and logical rupture between the old and the new contradictory views. The teachings of Denck in regard to the inner light and the inner Word which awakens love, the strongest force in men; his teaching of the denial of the supernatural in Christ's life and activity; his teaching that Jesus is a symbolical figure, a model for us to follow: these teachings had for Hetzer the charm of novelty and the enlightenment and fulfillment of his own convictions.

We regret that we know so little of the later days of Hetzer; not only concerning his book on Christ which was not printed, and his lessons from the Scriptures, which have been lost, [419] but also his translation of Baruch with its bizarre preface. In place of these writings we are obliged to accept extracts made in the writings of the chronicler, Sebastian Frank.

. . . . Whoever does not possess God within his heart may seek him forever and never find him. Whoever searches only in the Bible for knowledge, will find it; but it will be a useless wisdom which does not improve him. This indeed happens to all those who receive their beliefs only from reading and hearsay, and who in support of their faith can only say: I have read about it in this or that chapter of the Bible. For no matter how learned a man may be he cannot understand the Scriptures unless he comprehends them and experiences them in the depths and truths of his soul . . . . [420] "The Keys of David" (the secret and hidden meanings of the Scriptures) are not interpreted by the scriptures no matter how scholarly, how polished, how wise or how fervent a man may be . . . .

. . . . One cannot compel the Holy Spirit, but one may resist it, as Scribes do, whom the letter killeth. . . . . But

[419] John Gast: de Anabaptismi exordio Basil 1544. Bock: hist. Antitrin. p. 236.
[420] Hagen, p. 288.

to understand the Keys of David and the "way of the cross" one must above all study and experience seated at the feet of the Lord in pain,—seated peacefully at the foot of the holy cross in the silence of the Sabbath . . . . Unless a man does this, the most learned is only ignorant . . . .

. . . . To walk in the way of the cross, chastisement must be the teacher [421]—in order that one may hear and understand the living Voice of God . . . . Without this one cannot read with understanding the characters and the words of the Bible, but speaks rather as a blind man does of colors . . . . *Whoever wishes to be chosen in this school of the cross is not bound to the external words of the Scriptures, nor even to the activity of Christ among men* . . . But there are men who desire only the external revelations of God in their own lives—who are more solicitous of the activity of their own spirits than any Scripture allows them to be . . . .

The Seeds and Word of God are placed in the hearts of all men . . . . By this inner Word of God alone can we know the divine will. [422] Everyone should have learned this in childhood from the sermons of Jesus . . . .

* * * * *

Thus—because of the influence of Denck—Hetzer surrenders his views on the verbal inspiration of the Bible which we have noted above. Moreover he is brave enough to say that there are great differences in worth to be found in the different books of the Bible. For example, he mocks the book of Numbers and he declares that in the final chapter of Ezekiel the prophet of that name condemns the sacrifices and the temples to which Moses refers. He also speaks of the differences between canonical and uncanonical books. In regard to Baruch, he says, it might as

[421] See his "Song for the Strengthening and Fortifying of the Faith," stanza 7, Chapter XXIII, and stanzas 2 and 3 of his "Patience Bringeth Experience".
[422] Hagen, p. 288.

well be canonical as not. Furthermore, many of the books of the Bible which are outside the canon are faultless. Indeed, he declares, the Hebrews had a long dispute as to what books to admit to the canon.

As time went on he became more frank in denying the atoning merits of the cross and of Christ. Even more clearly he finally denied the deity of Christ and recognized only the mystical approach to God's Unity. He did not believe in a vicarious atonement.[423] Quite the contrary, his whole emphasis was on man's harmony and union with God's Spirit. Perfect harmony with God constitutes sonship with him. Every man in harmony with God is a son of God.

It is too much to hope that the lost writings of Hetzer—from which these fragments were taken—will ever be found. But such a discovery would enrich the knowledge of the life of this daring and farseeing scholar of the Reformation times—and it would throw valuable light upon the doctrines and policies of the Anabaptist leaders of those days.

As we have seen, he allowed himself to a great degree to be influenced by Denck. In fact we have precise information from Strasbourg that he learned his Unitarianism from Denck.[424]. Denck's whole philosophy of religion was based upon the idea that Christ was a man. To him Jesus was an historical person such as the critical Biblical scholar knows him today.

Finally, under the influence of Denck Hetzer became a mystic. It was Denck who introduced him to the deep religious experiences of Johann Tauler's sermons and

[423] See his "Song for the Strengthening and Fortifying of the Faith". Chapter XXIII. The 5th stanza.

[424] Capito to Zwingli, July 7, 1527: omnino negant Christi meritum. Denkius dux hujus blasphemiae, et Hetzerum facile obtinuit. Until a short time before he met Denck at Strasbourg, Hetzer believed in the merits of Christ. (Preface to Malachi, 1526). After meeting Denck at Strasbourg, he readily accepted Denck's heretical opinions. (Gerbert, Hagen, Keim, etc.).

the Theologia Germanica, although in an external sort of a way, no doubt he was familiar with them before his association with Denck,—as we have suggested—in his student days. From the moment he truly imbibed the deep religious understanding which came to him from these writings, he became a different man. He dropped, as we have seen, his narrower Christocentric views and was filled with a Unitarian[425] God-consciousness. Christ was still his Master, his leader. But God, whose awful majesty and love he now understood, became for him the center and soul of all his thought. In all this he was a pupil of Hans Denck.

The Scriptures, while still unapproachable by any of the later writings of man, now took a second place in Hetzer's scale of values. For instead of the written Word of God—an external authority—he now prized more highly the indwelling Voice of God. He treasured an inner spiritual authority—the Voice of God which spoke to him from within, out of the deeps of his religious and moral experiences. The voice of conscience now guided and directed every forward step of his life.

But great as it was, it is only fair to him to state that this dependence upon Denck should not be exaggerated. According to the Strasbourg expression he was only "lightly affected" by the doctrines of Denck, for he did not follow Denck blindly in all his teachings. Yet it is fair to say Denck exerted a far greater influence upon him than any other man.

* * * * *

"Child baptism is wholly wrong: the Book of the Popes taught me this," Hetzer declared.[426] "Oh how many afflicted hearts have many pious mothers had—just because they had no other idea than that their unbaptized

[425] Beard, p. 215.

[426] Hetzer quotes: "Titul. de Cons. dist. 4. Canon. Quare etc., per totum."

children were damned." "Oh, such madness." "Yet how much better it is to believe (I hope it will never become impossible to believe it) that unbaptized children of Christians will be saved as surely as those who are baptized: what can hinder such a belief?" . . . Therefore these and other unwholesome superstitions have caused me (and not without reason) to be suspicious of baptism . . "Many scholars before me have declared this and many yet to come will declare it." [427]

Nor was he much interested in re-baptism. He declared that for him it did not have the significance of a bond "by which God must certainly receive one to himself."

Indeed he wished that men would neither tie themselves to infant baptism nor to a later baptism—in order to win salvation. The former, child baptism, is a sin, and the latter, re-baptism, amounts to a commercial contract with Heaven.

* * * * *

The other beliefs which he held were in keeping with the Anabaptist communion. He did not believe in images or idols. He did not believe that a Christian should go to war—or use force—or take an oath.

The communion of saints, the Lord's Supper, yes, these things were good and had their proper place. But all these things were of lesser concern. The apostolic mode of life, where all were brothers and sisters, and followers of the Master, and all were children of God:—this was for Hetzer the ideal mode of life. The thing most to be desired was the knowledge of God in ones heart. A man should

> Hate the evil and love the good.
> Do justly, love mercy
> And walk humbly with his God.

[427] All from "Vom Sacrament der Danksagung".

* * * * *

Luther in sarcasm once called Hetzer and Denck "the Prophets of Worms." But in fact he never said truer words. For these two men in their beliefs and in their lives were prophets of righteousness like the Hebrew prophets of old. And in their beliefs and in their doctrines they surely were seers and prophets whose views were singularly modern. In a word they combined the understanding heart, the mystic communion with God, the hunger and thirst for righteousness, and the prophetic vision, of true prophets of God.

Chapter XXI.

Beliefs which Hetzer and Denck held in Common.

From a variety of sources we have learned that Hetzer's doctrines were in general similar to those of his friend Hans Denck.[428] What, then, were some of these beliefs of Denck which Hetzer also held?

The following representative paragraphs have been selected carefully from the works of Denck:

I.

Denck's Doctrine of the Inner Word.

". . . . The Kingdom of God is within you, as the Scripture says. It does not come to him who searches and lies in wait for it outside of himself. He who truly seeks God, already has him; and without God one may neither seek nor find him." [429]

II.

The Inner Law is of Primary Importance—while the Scriptures are only of secondary importance—for unless a man has the Spirit of God in his heart he cannot understand them.

"All the commandments, customs and laws so far as they are composed of what is written in the Old or New Testament are done away with for the true disciple of Christ (I Timothy 1). That is, he has a Word written in his heart that he loves only God. Accordingly he knows how to judge everything he does or neglects to do, even though he does not possess anything written about it. If he cannot understand some part of the whole, yet he does not set at naught any text of Scripture, (II Peter 1) but studies them all with diligence and compares them with one another. But he does not yet accept them until

[428] E. g., among others, the letter of Capito to Zwingli, July 7, 1527. See also the seven theses of Denck, Hetzer and Kautz published at Worms. See pages 149 and 150 above. Heberle, p. 845, 848-9, 850. See Note 437 below.

[429] Hans Denck: Was Geredt Sey—Das Die Schrifft Sagt—Gott Thue Vnd Mache Güts Vnd Böses. p. B. ii.

they are explained to him through the grace of the Spirit (I John 2). What he does not comprehend he abstains from judging and waits for the revelation of God." [430]

"The Scriptures and laws are in themselves holy and good; (Romans 7) but in a perverse heart all things are inverted. No one else than God himself is able to help such a man. Whoever does not possess God in his heart cannot be helped at all by any creature, even if he is already lord of them all." [431]

III.

Both Hetzer and Denck were accused repeatedly of having been guilty of Origen's heresy in regard to *Universal Salvation.* [432]

Jesus is a mediator between God and man. "Which men? To me and to thee alone? Not at all; but to all men to whom God has given an inheritance. But has he not also given that to all the heathen and the Jews? Why wilt thou, then, bar the way to them?" [433] "The pleasure of God's will remains unchanged: thus he has resolved from eternity that all men shall be saved." [434]

IV.

The Love of God working in the heart of a man is his true mediator and savior.

". . . . The strength of the All-Highest will begin to work in a man's heart, without any mediator. For God himself is the true mediator, the beginning and the end of all good." [435]

[430] Hans Denck: Vom Dem Gsatz Gottes. p. 31.

[431] Hans Denck: Vom Dem Gsatz Gottes, pp. 32, c.

[432] "We are of opinion that every rational creature, without any distinction, receives a share of him," i. e., the Holy Spirit. Origen: De Princ., I., p. 17.

[433] Hans Denck: Was Geredt Sey, etc., p. 10.

[434] Hans Denck: Was Geredt Sey, etc., p. c. (17). Cf. also Hagenbach; and Heberle: Johann Denk und die Ausbreitung seine Lehre, in Theologische Studien und Kritiken, 1855, p. 827, note a.: "In der Hauptsache sind die Grundlagen der Lehre bei Denk ganz dieselben wie bei Origenes." "Item, sie unterstond durch ihren Missbrauch göttlicher Schrift zu erhalten, dass der Teufel begnadet und selig werden solle." Simmler: Sammlung, I., 499, f. Heberle, p. 850.

[435] Hans Denck: Vom Dem Gsatz Gottes. p. 24.

"Through thine own wisdom thou must seek to become noble." [436]

V.

On the humanity of Jesus.

Jesus must have been human in order that we may profit by his human perfection. [437]

"But *that Jesus was a man must necessarily be,* in order that in the spirit and in the flesh, from within and from without, behind and before, and in all places, men may have testimony: the elect for their progress and salvation; the others, in order that they may not say that God leaves men free to clutch at whatever they wish in order that they may sin and die (which is the secret delight of God, they would say, though he doesn't let us notice that he is against us, as that does not please him.) The perverse even now talk like that nowadays, and this manner of speaking is so common that the elect also join with them, but nevertheless the elect are not satisfied as the perverse are. But that this lie was punished and dishonored through the humanity of Jesus, one can thus understand, because God created all men in his own image." [438]

"All Christians are in some measure Christ-like. As Christ has sacrificed himself to the Father—they are also prepared to sacrifice themselves. I do not say that they are also perfect as he was, but they likewise seek the perfection that Christ never lost . . . Also Christ called himself a light of the world, and, likewise he called his disciples, who were all Christians, a light of the world." [439]

[436] Hans Denck: Was Geredt Sey, etc., p. 12.

[437] There is a persistent tradition which associates Denck with the anti-trinitarian teaching of his friend and literary fellow-worker, Ludwig Hetzer. (Coutts, p. 156.) Beard, for example, says: "Campanus, Denck and Hetzer early struck the path which Servetus and the Socini followed." (Hibbert Lectures, 1883, pp. 173, 125, 269.) It is said Hetzer wrote a book, which Zwingli advised him not to publish, questioning the divinity of Christ. (Ottius: Annales ad annum 1529. Füssli: Beyträge, III., p. 320.)

[438] Hans Denck: Was Geredt Sey, etc., p. 18.

[439] Hans Denck: Was Geredt Sey, etc., pp. 15 and 16.

"All Christians who have received the Holy Spirit are one in God with Christ; therefore what applies to one applies to the others also. Whatever Christ did, they do also, and thus they have Christ as a Lord and Master. *Therefore he is the most perfect Image of his Father, because if he had been perfect he would not have been human.* And if he had not been that which he said about the blade [440] becoming more perfect he would not be the true savior, but we should have to wait for another who would be far off." [441]

VI.

If a man is at one with God he shall never be bound by any human law.

"A man who has once washed himself of the uncleanness of this world, shall not eat a bit of bread without considering how God loves him and how he ought to love God: namely he should consider that God after his own fashion is good to him as he breaks the bread, and he should give honor to God when the bread is broken, that God because of his deity may pardon him and that he shall be forgiven because of his humanity,—in order that the sacrifice may be perfect, and the love be one as it was in Christ Jesus . . . As much as a man is thus one with God he shall never be bound by any human law. [442]

These words, although written more than four hundred years ago, are as modern in sound as though they had been written today. It was from the doctrine of the Inner Light that all of Hetzer's and Denck's heresies naturally proceeded, whether in regard to the authority of the Scriptures, in their belief in the final salvation of

[440] "First the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear." Mark IV:28.

[441] Hans Denck: Was Geredt Sey, etc., p. 16. That Denck and Hetzer agreed on the simple humanity of Jesus, see: Heberle, p. 845. "Hetzer wird mit einem Mal als Rädelsführer und als Hauptanstifter der Unruhen in Worms bezeichnet, der sich von Denk unschwer für seine Blasphemie gegen das Kreuz Christi habe gewinnen lassen." Capito to Zwingli. July 7, 1527, and July 9, 1527; Bucer to Zwingli, August 13, 1527 and July 8, 1527. Heberle, pp. 849-850.

[442] Hans Denck: Von Dem Gsatz Gottes, p. 34.

all men, or in their belief in the humanity of Jesus.

The words of Matthew Arnold would have struck a sympathetic chord in the hearts of these two Anabaptist prophets:

"The inward judge obey!
Was Christ a man like us? *Ah, let us try*
If we then, too, can be such men as he!"

Chapter XXII.

The Preface to Hetzer's Edition of the Theologia Germanica.

During the year 1528, Ludwig Hetzer gave the printer, Peter Schöffer of Worms, a new edition of the Theologia Germanica. This was published forthwith with the following title page: "German Theology. Lately Improved and Corrected with Great Care. A Few Weighty Utterances Which Every Christian Scholar Should Study. 1528. (Ludwig Hetzer.)" "Theologia teutsch. Newlich mit grossem Fleiss corrigirt und gebessert. Etliche Hauptreden eynem jeden schüler Christi wol zu studiren. MDXXVIII."

As a preface to this book Hetzer added a few pages of advice to every diligent Christian scholar. The style and vocabulary of this preface seem to be that of Hans Denck, and Keller ascribes it to his pen. But at all events the ideas are those of Hetzer and the preface bears his imprimatur: "Isaiah 59. Zechariah 9. Shout and be joyful, O Zion, for thy Lord will come and be King, and will *release the captives.*"

Hetzer's Unitarianism is completely demonstrated in this tract. "*God is one*, and unity originates and is found in him." It is inconceivable that God should exist in more than one person. "Where there are two that support one another, then it is possible that discord may arise between them." "The two need only be at variance in purpose: that would be ample cause for the beginning and the end of all quarrels." Indeed, "nothing makes for lack of harmony so much as difference of purpose." "The One (God) wills to be one, and is opposed to all division." "Therefore he so created everything that everything would be in harmony." "Such unity can neither be measured, thought, considered nor recognized excepting alone in and through the One (God)." "Thus one can see the omni-

potence and mercy and unstinted kindness of the Very Highest, Lord is his name." Such sentences point to one truth: namely, that Hetzer cherished a Unitarian idea of the Godhead.

The second topic of this preface is that of freedom. In order that an ever increasing progress might be made in knowledge and understanding, "all that God created, he created free."

Sin is the thwarting of the perfect work of freedom. "He who, being free, imprisons and compels another, works against God, who created him and made him free." "Sin must be recognized in the broad daylight if one is to hate it vigorously everywhere." "The Son of God or God's Likeness demands freedom forever," and this must continue to be so "as long as God remains, for freedom is of God."

Again, "Jesus Christ of Nazareth taught, practiced, was master of and exercised the greatest freedom of the will." This freedom "was not his, according to his testimony, but came from the One (God) from whom he received it." Yet this freedom could not be taken from Jesus because of his perfection "which he had to possess if he were always to glorify God as God should be glorified." "The most perfect thing about Jesus was the wholly faultless union of his will by which he always remains in harmony with the One (God)." "Thus it is that the freedom which we possess must not be lost, else it would bring injury to God, from whom it comes, and to whom it belongs."

Finally, Hetzer tells us that Christ is "a true son of God, the first born among the brethren, who is entitled to everything the Father allows him, who is the true mediator, through which one must come to the One, that is, to the Father."

We should return without any dissension to the One

(God) whom we must study all throughout our lives. He who has faith can do this. We can be at one with God "only by giving up everything which is displeasing to the One (God)." Resignation, entire submission to God, a perfect sacrifice, must be willed.

"Whoever cannot recognize himself in these utterances is lacking in the witness of the Spirit whose discipline he refuses." Moreover, if anyone falls from lack of this discipline, it is his fault because he will not concern himself about things which will improve him.

Hetzer ends by saying that "wisdom knows that the greatest folly of the Holy Spirit is wiser than the highest wisdom of the world." (I Cor. 3:19, 1:25).

Then follows Hetzer's motto:

"The Lord will come . . . . and will release the captives."

Chapter XXIII.

Hetzer as a Hymn Writer.

As in the case of the Lutheran movement, the teachings of the Anabaptists were widely disseminated by their hymn-books. Many of the early Anabaptist martyrs were prolific hymn writers—the most noted of whom were Sigmund Salminger, Hans Hut, Eitelhans Langenmantel, Michael Sattler, Felix Manz, George Blaurock, Thomas Münzer, Jacob Dachser and Ludwig Hetzer. Each one of these men wrote many hymns, yet in each instance only one or two have come down to us. The most skillful poet among them was undoubtedly Hetzer, yet only four of his hymns have survived.

Perhaps the most popular of Hetzer's hymns is called the "Song for the Strengthening and Fortifying of the Faith". "Ein new lied zü ainer sterckung vnd befestigung des Glaubens den schwach glaubigen." This was first printed in 1529, but soon ran through many editions. One interesting thing to be noted about this hymn is that the initial letters of the first verses of the first six stanzas spell "S-O-P-H-I-A", that is, "Wisdom".[443]

The source of the popularity of this hymn is not difficult to discover. There is a wealth of imaginative language, a pleasing cadence, a directness and sincerity, and a fine moral tone throughout. The words are carefully chosen. The hymn is melodious and the thoughts expressed are beautiful, while the deep religious undercurrent of the hymn is strongly affecting.

The hymn follows:

[443] This hymn first appeared in 1529. An example of the first edition is to be seen at the Hofbibliotek at Darmstadt. The hymn subsequently appeared in the Bergkreyen, printed at Nuremberg in 1551, in the Schweizer Gesangbüchern, printed at Zurich in 1570 and at Basle in 1581 and it appeared at Augsburg in the Augsburg Gesangbuch as early as 1530 and in the Magdeburg Gesangbuch as early as 1540. Having appeared as often as this in as many different editions, its popularity cannot be questioned.

Solt du bey got dein wonung han
vnnd seinnen hymel erben,
So bleyb nur städts auff seiner pan,
mit Christo müst du sterben.
Du müst dein hertz,
es gilt kein schertz,
in Gottes gunst versencken,
Dein hab vnd güt,
auch leib vnd blüt
gentzlich dem Vater schencken.

* * * * *

On alle forcht vnd weybisch art
soldt dich seins willens halten,
In frey bekennen vngespart
vnd inn darnach lan walden.
Greyffs dapfer an,
du müst drann,
ker dich an nyemandts wütten:
Wer nit mit streyt
wol daussen bleibt,
all Christen müssen plütten.

* * * * *

Pracht, adel, gwalt, sterck, schön vnd kunst,
mag dich zu Gott nit bringen:
Es stinckt vor Gott vnd ist vmb sunst,
nach demüt solt du ryngen.
Auss seiner krafft
da kumpt der gsafft
vnd macht vns frütig lauffen
Auffs herren strass
on zyl vnd mass,
das hayst all ding verkauffen.

* * * * *

Hast du Got lieb vnd kenst sein Sun,
als du dich rümpst mit wortten,

So soldt du seinen willen thün
auff erden ann allen ortten.
  Es hilfft kain glos,
die gschrifft ist ploss,
ich kans nicht anderst lessen:
Wilt du sein frumm,
so magst kurtz vmb
vors teüffels gwalt nit gnesen.

* * * * *

Jha, spricht die welt, es ist on not
das ich mit Christo leyde:
Er lyt doch selbs für mich den tod,
nun zech ich auff sein kreide:
  Er zalt für mich,
das selb glaub ich,
dar mit ists auss gerichtet:
O brüder mein,
es ist ein schein,
der teüffel hats erdichtet.

* * * * *

Ach wer es gnüg an solchem wort,
so het die welt schon gewunnen.
Glaub ich noch vil ein edler hort:
wo einem hatt gelungen,
  Der waist ganntz wol
von wen er sol
das klainat zwegen bringen:
Er sagt ab der welt,
dem güt vnd gelt,
er hofft im sol gelingen.

* * * * *

Er gibt sich Got, treybt kainen spot,
last alle menschen schelten,
Leydt willig not, angst vnnd armüt
obs schon das leben müss gelten,

  So ist er prait,
spart kain arbait
den willen Gotes zehalten,
Er dult vnnd leydt,
ist im als freüd,
sein lieb mag nyemandt spalten.

* * * * *

Das ist zü Got die rechte pan,
darnach solt fleissig ringen,
So reich vnd starck ward nye kain man,
er müss zü letst von hinnen.
  Gwaldt, gunst vnd gab
wirdt denn schabab,
der stoltz inn forcht verwendet,
Allain die er
wirt haben der
der hie mit Christo endet.

* * * * *

Merck auff, O welt, mit deinem pracht,
ker ab von deinem leben,
Bedenck den tod vnd Gottes macht,
schaw was er dir wöl geben:
  Thüst du hie büss,
folgst Christus füss,
er wirdt dich nit verdammen,
Dz ewig reich
würst haben gleich
mit Jhesu Christo, Amen.

* * * * *

A free translation of this hymn follows:

Wilt thou have thy dwelling with God,
And inherit his kingdom?
Then walk in his way constantly
And thou must die with Christ.

Thou must lose thine heart
(This is no jest)
In God's grace:
Thy goods and chattels,
Thy body and blood,
Thou must give wholly to thy Father.

* * * * *

Without any fear and womanish art
Thou should'st hold thyself to his will,
In frank confession, without reserve,
And then let him rule.
Thou must continuously
Attack bravely.
Turn not for anybody's rage.
Who strives not with us
Remains against us indeed.
All Christians must bleed.

* * * * *

Pomp, nobility, power, strength, beauty and skill
Will not lead thee to God.
They offend God and are in vain.
For humility oughtest thou to wrestle.
From his power
Comes the unction
And makes us run early
On the Lord's road.
Without limit and measure,
Dispose of all (worldly) things.

* * * * *

If thou truly lovest God and knowest his son
As thou boastest with words,
Thou wilt do his will
Everywhere on earth.
No comment will help,
The scripture is clear,

I cannot read it otherwise:
If thou wilt be pious
Thou mayest quickly recover
From the Devil's power.

* * * * *

"But," says the world, "it is not necessary
That I suffer with Christ;
He died for me,
What I enjoy is charged to his score.
He pays for me.
This I believe.
That settles the matter!"
O my brother,
It is a fiction.
The devil has invented it.

* * * * *

O! Were such words enough
Then the world would already be saved.
I believe in a much nobler refuge:
Where success has come to one
He knows full well
From whom he shall
Obtain the treasure:
He gives up the world,
His goods and chattels,
And hopes he will be successful.

* * * * *

He yields to God, mocks not at all,
Lets everyone rebuke him,
Suffers willingly distress, anxiety and poverty,
Even if it cost him his life.
Thus he is prepared,
Spares no labor
To accomplish the will of God.
He endures and suffers:

It is to him as joy.
His love no one can cleave.
* * * * *
This is the right road to God,
On it thou shalt strive diligently.
No man was ever so rich and strong
But that at last he must die.
Power, favor and talent
Then become a hindrance,
Pride is turned to humble submission,
Which he alone
Will have
Who ends his life with Christ.
* * * * *
Attention, O World, with thy splendor,
Turn from thy life,
Consider death and the power of God.
See what he will give thee.
If thou repentest here,
Followest Christ's lead,
He will not condemn thee:
The eternal Kingdom thou shalt immediately have
With Jesus Christ, Amen.
* * * * *

Another of Hetzer's hymns is a translation of the 37th psalm. This is by far his longest hymn which has come down to us—composing some two dozen stanzas. But since it is a translation in verse rather than an original production, it will not be given here.

* * * * *

A third hymn—based on the 5th chapter of Paul's epistle to the Romans—bears the title "Patience Bringeth Experience". "Gedult bringt erfarung." [444] The words

[444] This hymn appears in the Salminger Gesangbuch of 1537; then in 1540 it is found in Joh. Zwick's Gesangbuch; and finally it appears in the Zürych Gesangbuch in 1570.

and translation of this hymn follow:

Gedult solt han
auf Gottes ban,
wilt du sein kunst recht lernen:
Wer nit mitt huldt
hie hat geduldt,
dem fälts am rechten kernen.
Gedult in nott
ist himmelbrot,
in Gottes schatz verborgen:
Mit diser speyss
wirst klüg vnd weyss
vnd ledig aller sorgen,
das du der rach mögst borgen.
* * * * *
Bringt dich ain sach
in wee vndd ach
in angst vnd schwäres leyden,
Das dus nit waist
vor Gottes gaist
wasst thün solt oder meyden,
Vnd denn im streyt
glaub oben leit,
so müst dich lassen schinden:
In solche strauss
wa wilt nun auss?
kain hilf ist da züfinden,
gedult müss überwinden.
* * * * *
Erfarung fürt
vnnd dich probiert,
wie du die zucht mögst tragen,
Welchs man mitt duldt
studiert mit schuldt,
vom grund kan niemandt sagen

Dann der allain
mit Gott hat gmain
vnnd tregt das creütz mit harrung:
In solchem mort
ist gdult der hort
vnd gibt der seele narung,
geduldt bringt gwüss erfarung.

* * * * *

Patience thou must have
On the Way of God,
If thou wouldst his wisdom learn rightly.
Who does not have
Patience with grace,
Lacks its true heart.
Patience in need
Is the heavenly manna,
Hidden in God's treasure.
With this food
Thou wilt become prudent and wise
And free from all cares,
That thou would'st borrow from vengeance.

* * * * *

If a thing bringest thee
Into woe and pain,
Into anguish and deep affliction,
So that thou knowest not
(Before the Spirit of God)
What thou shouldst do or shun,
In the conflict
When faith leads on high,
Thou must stand chastisement:
In such a strife
What wilt thou do?
No help is to be found,
Patience must conquer.

Experience leads
And puts thee to the test
How thou should'st bear discipline.
What one with patience
Attempts unsuccessfully
No one can really say.
For he alone
With God has communion
And carries the cross with patience:
In such a case
Is the refuge patience
And gives the soul nourishment.
Patience certainly brings experience.

* * * * *

But there is still another hymn written by Hetzer of which we possess a fragment. In many respects this fragment is most truly representative of his theological position. Indeed that is why it was preserved for us by his contemporary, Sebastian Frank, who recorded it in his Chronicle. This stanza is a morsel from Hetzer's poem called the "Rhyme on the Crucifixion of Christ". "Reime unter dem Kreuzgang Christi." In his other hymns Hetzer has written in an edifying strain: in this hymn we catch him in a reflective mood. The fact that in these verses he condemns the dogma of the Trinity explains their interest for us. There are many variations of this stanza, —some being quite sparing of words and others quite prolix, suggesting that some of the versions we possess are perhaps translations from a Latin version. One of the variations follows:

Ich binn allein der einig Gott,
der on gehilff alle ding beschaffen hat.
Fragstu wieuil meiner sey?
ich bins allein, meinr seind nit drey.
Sag auch darbey on allen won

dz ich glat nit weiss von keinr person,
Bin auch weder dis noch das:
wem ichs nit sag, der weisst nit was. [445]

* * * * *

Another version may be translated as follows:

"I am He who created all things through His own might.
Thou askest, how many persons am I?
I am one!

445 From: Sebastian Franck: Chronica, Zeytbuch vnd geschychtbibel, 1531, pag cccxv.

Another variation is as follows:

Ich bin allain der ewig Gott,
der ohn hilff alles erschaffen hat.
Fragstu wieuil doch meiner sey?
ich bins allain, mein sein nit drey,
Sag auch darbey ohn allen won
ich waiss glat von kainer person,
Ich bin auch weder diss noch das:
wem ich nit sag, der waisst nit was.

From: Chronicle of the Anabaptists, p. 46, in the City Library at Hamburg. very similar variation is to be found in Dr. Joseph Beck: Die Geschichts-Büche etc. Another very similar variation is to be found in Roehrich: Vie de Jea Denck, and in Weis: Life, Teachings and Works of Johannes Denck, p. 16.

Here is another simpler variation:

ich bin allein der einig Gott
meiner sind nicht drei
ich glatt weiss von keiner Person
bin auch weder dies noch das
wem ich's nicht sag, der weiss nicht was.

From: Sebastian Franck: Chronicka, 1536, III., p. 164; and from Mus. Hel VI., pp. 117, 121.

Finally, that of Anna Brons:

Ich selbst bin derjenige, der dies alles durch eigene Macht erschuf.
Du fragst, wie viele unserere sein mogen? Umsonst, Ich war allein!
Hier gibt's nicht drei der Zahl nach, sonder Ich bin allein!
Aber jene sind nicht drei an der Zahl, denn I ch war allein.
Nichts weiss ich von Person:
Ich bin allein der Lebendige und die Quelle.
Wer mich nicht kennt, der kenne ich nicht,
Ich allein werde sein.

From: Anna Brons: Ursprung, Entwicklung, u. s. w. S. Baptismi Histor (The Holy History of the Anabaptists). Dortmund, 1646-1647, p. 748.

I am not three persons, but I am one!
And I cannot be three persons, for I am one!
I know nothing of persons: I alone am the source of all life.
He who does not know me, I know not;
I alone am!"

* * * * *

The reader of this stanza by Hetzer cannot doubt the Unitarian sentiments of its author.

* * * * *

Of the eighteen Anabaptist hymn writers whose hymns have come down to us, at least thirteen died a martyr's death. Let me mention those whom we know to have been martyred:

1. George Blaurock, burned at Innsbruck, 1529.
2. Annelein von Freiburg, drowned and burned, 1529.
3. Ludwig Hetzer, beheaded at Constance, 1529.
4. Hans Hut, died in prison at Augsburg, 1529; his body later burnt.
5. Eitelhans Langenmantel, beheaded and his wife drowned.
6. Felix Manz, drowned by the magistrates of Zurich, 1527.
7. Thomas Münzer, beheaded and his head exposed on a pike.
8. Michael Sattler, beheaded at Rothenburg-on-the-Neckar, 1527, and his wife hung.
9. Leonhardt Schiemer, beheaded at Rothenburg-on-the-Inn, January 14, 1528.
10. Liepolt Schneider, beheaded at Augsburg, 1528.
11. Hans Schlaffer, beheaded at Schwaz-on-the-Inn, 1528.
12. George Steinmetz, beheaded at Pfortzen, 1530.
13. George Wagner, burned at Munich, February 8, 1527.

Chapter XXIV.

The Influence of Hetzer.

With the martyrdom of Ludwig Hetzer at Constance in 1529, did his doctrines and teachings perish with him? By no means, for before his death Hetzer doubtless had made scores of converts to his way of thinking. We know of one man—a convert of his—who survived him for many years and travelled in many lands. This was Jakob Kautz of whom we have spoken earlier. The denial of the deity of Jesus by Hetzer and the belief in the final salvation of all men which Denck held (and which Hetzer also held) came to be accepted by hundreds of antitrinitarian Anabaptists as the years went by. [446]

The followers of Hetzer and Denck in Swabia declared that one cannot demonstrate by means of the Scriptures that Christ is at the same time truly God and truly man. On the contrary, they said, any number of texts may be quoted to prove that Christ is not truly God, but that only the Father is God. Jesus received the gift of the Holy Spirit from the Father and for that reason he is Lord of heaven and earth. Yet since he was born he cannot be God, but only God's likeness or image. As such Jesus is the mediator between God and man. But the Image is not the Infinite Being, and no one can be at the same time God and man. [447]

Moreover, the Anabaptists who dwelt in Saxony had these same ideas. Jesus Christ, they declared, is not really and truly God's son, but a mere man. For that matter, what good would it do for God himself to be a man, to suffer and to die? If he wishes to be merciful, to forgive sins, and to save, he can do this well enough without be-

[446] See Chapter XXI above, Note 437.

[447] Carl Hagen: Deutschlands literarische und religiöse verhältnisse im reformationzseitalter, pp. 293, 294. Pfaff: Geschichte der Reichstadt Esslinger, 1840, pp. 475, 477. Gayler: Denkwürdigkeiten von Reutlingen, 1840, p. 317.

coming a man, without suffering and dying. Therefore Christ is not truly God. [448]

These doctrines, futhermore, were widespread in Franconia, where they had been received in the time of Hetzer and Denck. Pastor Althammer of Nuremberg thought it necessary to print a book of his own against those who denied the deity of Christ, so widespread was this belief. The book was called: "Witness from the Holy Scriptures that our Christ Jesus was truly God, against the new Jews and Arians who call themselves Christians and who deny the deity of Christ. Andr. Althammer, 1526."

So widespread indeed were these views of Hetzer and Denck that the framers of the Augsburg Confession of 1530 thought it wise to add a clause denouncing them. Thus the last part of Article I condemns the Antitrinitarian Anabaptist views of Hetzer and Denck as follows: "They condemn also the Samosatenes, old and *new;* who, when they earnestly contend that there is but *one person,* do craftily and wickedly trifle, after the manner of rhetoricians, about the Word and Holy Ghost, that they are not distinct persons, but that the Word signifieth a vocal word, and the Spirit a motion created in things."

These words from the Augsburg Confession were probably inspired partly by the two sets of articles subscribed to by the Anabaptists of Augsburg, namely the articles of the "New Christians" of Augsburg and the so-called Nickolsburg Articles. These last were said to have been composed by Dr. Balthazar Hübmeier under the influence of Denck, Hetzer and Hut. They represent, doubtless, the doctrines taught by Hetzer as head of the Anabaptist sect of Augsburg. Several of these are worth giving in this connection, for example the following: Art.II.

[448] Hagen, opus cit., p. 294. Justus Menius: Wider die Wiedertäufer, 1530. X., 2.

"Christ was conceived in original sin" Art. III. "The Virgin Mary is not the mother of God but only the mother of Christ." Art. IV. "Christ is not God, but only a prophet whose coming the Holy Scriptures predict." Art. V. "Christ has not atoned for all the sins of the world." [449]

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[449] Andr. Althammer: Das unser Christus Jesus wahrer Gott sei, zeugniss der heil. Schrift, wider die neuen Juden und Arianer unter christlichen Namen, welche die Gottheit Christi verläugnet. 1526. Hagen, p. 299. Heberle: Stud. u. Krit., 1855, pp. 851-864. Zöckler: Die Augsb. Conf., p. 137. "The Anti-trinitarian Anabaptists, Denck, Hetzer, etc., but not Servede and the Socinians, who appeared after 1530." Philip Schaff: Creeds of Christendom, N. Y., 1877, Vol. III., p. 8. The Augsburg Confession, part I, article I. "De Deo." "....Damnant et Samosatenos, veteres et *neotericos*, qui, cum tantum *unam personam* esse contendant, de Verbo et de Spiritu Sancto astute et impie rhetoricantur, quod non sint personae distinctae, sed quod Verbum significet verbum vocale, et Spiritus motum in rebus creatum." "Der augsburger neuen Christen" declared (I) Wer nicht hören und bekennen mag, den soll man nicht taufen. (II) Wer Eigenes hat, der mag des Herrn Nachtmahls nicht theilhaftig werden. (III) Der Satan und die Gottlosen werden endlich auch selig. (IV) Die heil. Schrift ist den Gläubigen nicht gegeben, dass sie überwunden werden. (V) Innerhalb zweien Jahren wird der Herr von Himmel herabkommen und mit den weltlichen Fürsten handeln und kriegen, und die Gottlosen werden vertilgt, aber die Gottseligen und Auserwählten werden mit ihm herrschen auf Erden. (VI) Alle, die gelehrt sind und das Evangelium verkünden, sind Verkehrer der Schrift. (VII) Im Abendmahl der Herrn ist allein Wein und Brot. These are to be found in Gayler: histor. Denkwürdigkeiten von Reutlingen, 1840. Heberle, op. cit, pp. 859-860. According to Jörg, p. 677, Hübmeier, Denck and Hetzer together wrote these articles, but there is no proof given for such a statement. As for the Nickolsburg articles they are said to have been written by Dr. Balthazar Hübmeier under the influence of Denck. But they seem to bear the marks of Hut and Hetzer quite as much as of Hübmeier and Denck. As a matter of fact their author is unknown. Heberle, p. 854.

These Nickolsburg Articles are as follows: (I) Das Evangelium sey nicht zu predigen öffentlich in den Kirchen, sondern nur heimlich in besonderen Häusern. (II) Christus sey in der Erbsünde emfangen. (III) Die Jungfrau Maria sey nicht eine Mutter Gottes, sondern allein eine Mutter Christi. (IV) Christus sey nicht Gott, sondern allein ein Prophet, dem das Wort Gottes befohlen sey. (V) Christus habe nicht genuggethan für aller Welt Sunde. (VI) Es soll keine Gewalt noch Meisterschaft seyn unter den Christen. (VII) Die Engel seyen mit Christo Mensch geworden und haben Fleisch an sich genommen mit Christo. These articles are to be found in Gayler, p. 317, under the title "Artikel der Wiedertäufer" with this sub-title: "Sollichs lehren die Augspurger neun Christen von den Feinden unsereres Glaubens, den Juden; auch ist sollichs zu Nikkelsburg disputirt". They are also given in Latin by Heumann: documenta literaria, Altorfi, 1758, p. 65; by Cochlaeus in his comment., etc. and by Sender: Relatio histor. de ortu et progressu haeresium. Ingolstadt, 1654.

Naturally this direct influence of Hetzer and Denck cannot be traced very far. But the indirect influence of these early Anabaptist leaders can be shown to reach down to our own times. It would be folly to say that present day liberal Christianity comes largely from Hetzer and Denck and their comrades (for the logical development of Protestantism leads eventually and logically to modern liberal views) but it would be just as fallacious to declare that their influence is negligible.

It is said that by 1546 no fewer than 30,000 Anabaptists had been put to death in Holland and Friesland. The remnants of them that survived persecution were at length gathered into a more compact body. From them sprang the Mennonites of Holland, and the Baptists and Unitarians of England and America. [450]

It was one of these Friesland Anabaptists, Adam Pastor, who first attacked the Trinitarian dogma in Poland [451] and soon the Polish Brethren, due to the influence of the Moravian and the Dutch Anabaptists, became quite strongly antitrinitarian, so that they willingly fell in with the views of Faustus Socinus and after twenty-five years of his leadership became known to the world as Socinians.

Even in the Reformation period, too, antitrinitarian Anabaptists had penetrated into the heart of Hungary, so that as early as 1545 it was found necessary at the first Protestant synod in Hungary to condemn opponents of the Trinity. [452]

During all this time, moreover, the antitrinitarian Anabaptist beliefs of Hetzer and Denck were being spread in yet other lands. England especially endeavored to establish a strict quarantine against the importation of this

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[450] E. M. Wilbur: Our Unitarian Heritage, p. 46.

[451] J. H. Allen: An Historical Sketch of the Unitarian Movement Since the Reformation, p. 76.

[452] Wilbur, opus cit. p. 216.

infection. [453] Here all sorts of heretics were put in the one great category of "Anabaptists". That was the hateful name which was the watchword of contempt and persecution; and it included not only those who were for adult baptism, or re-baptism, but any who were unsound about the Mass, or who rejected those ideas of Christ's deity on which the Mass was founded. The old historian, John Stowe, [454] tells us how a number of these Anabaptists came over to England from Holland about 1535 to escape from persecution; but the persecuting laws had just been revived in England threatening death or banishment to the "divers and sundry strangers of the sect and false opinion of the Anabaptists and Sacramentaires, being lately come into this realm". They were soon carried off to prison and then—sometimes three or four at once—they "bore their fagots", as the phrase was, and were "brent" at St. Paul's Cross. We have a glimpse of their opinions at this time in the enumerations of the heresies for which they were martyred, among which the following are named: (I) The denial of the Trinity; (II) That Jesus Christ was only a man, but not the true God; (III) That the only benefit men received from Christ consists in their being brought to the true fellowship of God. [455]

In 1536 alone, ten persons were caught as Anabaptists and put to death, and ten others saved themselves by recanting. Yet in spite of this zeal for the true faith, Anabaptism spread in England and, what is worse from the conservative point of view, its doctrines spread and formed an innovating leaven of unrest among many who never became Anabaptists. Altogether they served as a nursery for the growth of the Anabaptist seed transplanted from Holland. "Puritans, Separatists, Brownists, Independents, Ranters, Quakers, all sat at the table furnished by Anabaptism, and ate, some of one dish, some of another. Those of largest appetite were the followers of Robert Browne, afterwards called Independents or Congregationalists. Of these in 1593 there were 20,000 in England —so lamented Sir Walter Raleigh in Parliament." [456]

And the Anabaptists even came across the Atlantic to the little settlements of New England where William Bradford and John Winthrop were tormented with them. [457]

453 Frederic Palmer: Heretics, Saints and Martyrs, p. 42.
454 Born 1525; died 1605.
455 Brooke Herford: Unitarianism in England, its Origin and History, p. 79.

456 Palmer, opus cit. pp. 43, 44. "Hans Denck"...."was in feeling as well as ideas a precursor of the Society of Friends." R. Heath: Hans Denck, Cont. Review, December 1892. D. H. Ludemann: (Reformation und Täufertum in ihrem verhältnis zum Christlichen Prinzip, Bern, 1896, p. 86.) "In many of its trains of thought, modern Protestant theology comes nearer Denck, Schwenkfeld, etc., than it does to the Reformers." G. W. Roehrich: Essai, etc., "Many of their ideas, which, for 300 years were reckoned dangerous and anti-christian heresies, are now generally accepted by theology, as well as by the religious life and conscience. Many a truth perceived by the penetrating mind of Denck has been recovered, developed, and set in a place of honor by modern liberal theology." Quoted from Coutts, pp. 242, 243.

457 See Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation and Winthrop's Journal. One of the present author's ancestors was Michael Metcalf (born 1592, settled at Dedham in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1637, the grandson of an Anglican clergyman) who may well have been an antitrinitarian Anabaptist, since he declared that his reason for coming to America was that: "I was persecuted in the land of my father's sepulchres for not bowing at the name of Jesus," by Bishop Wren of Norwich, England. Norwich, where Metcalf lived, was a hot-bed of Anabaptism. Another Anabaptist ancestor was the Hon. George Allen of Sandwich (1568-1648) who settled in Lynn in 1635, and in Sandwich in 1637. His son, the Reverend Samuel Allen, an Anabaptist minister, was also an ancestor. The author's wife, moreover, is a descendent of several Anabaptists. One of these, Thomas Foster, an early settler of New England, was an avowed Anabaptist. There were probably many more of Anabaptist sentiments in early New England times than might be supposed. The first severe persecution, of the Anabaptists of New England, found on record, occurred in 1665. William Turner, Thomas Gould, Edward Drinker and several others were accused before the governor and magistrates of the crime of "gathering themselves into the form of a church, in opposition to the Church of Christ established in the colony, and with intermeddling with those holy appointments of the Lord Jesus, which belong only to office trust." Several of these men were afterwards imprisoned and banished. In this case, like all others, the severity against the sect made new converts to it, and it was therefore thought expedient to desist from persecution. In 1653, Mr. Henry Dunster, the first president of Harvard College, began to preach vigorously against infant baptism. He publicly "bore testimony" to his Anabaptist views and was on that account expelled from his office. His successor, the Rev. Charles Chauncey of Scituate, had been expelled from that place because of his Anabaptist teachings, yet was chosen to fill the place of Dr. Dunster as second president

Thus it may be shown that not only the Socinians, the Mennonites and the Remonstrants of Holland, but also the Quakers, the Baptists, the Congregationalists and Unitarians both of England and America—and even such Puritans as John Milton, Isaac Watts and Sir Isaac Newton were all affected, either directly or indirectly, by the teachings of these antitrinitarian Anabaptists—among the earliest and most renowned leaders and martyrs of whom were Hans Denck and Ludwig Hetzer. [458]

* * * * *

"How far that little candle throws his beams!"

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of Harvard College. But to obtain the office, Chauncey had to promise to keep to himself his views on baptism. John Cooke, the last surviving passenger of the historic voyage of the Mayflower in 1620, was an Anabaptist. These incidents reveal the presence of widespread Anabaptist sentiments among the early settlers of New England.

[458] Rufus Jones; E. M. Wilbur, opus cit., passim; Frederic Palmer, opus cit., passim; President Faunce of Brown University: Article on Roger Williams, pp. 49-84, in Pioneers of Religious Liberty in America, Boston, 1903. Also other papers in this same series.

Conclusion

Ludwig Hetzer, whom the world has almost forgotten and whom it remembers only to blame; saw, though perhaps dimly, truths and principles which the men, such as Luther and Calvin, who have reaped a full harvest of fame as leaders and benefactors of humanity, contemptuously neglected. [459] But time brings its revenges: and though men be forgotten, the truths for which they gave their lives cannot die.

The party which Hetzer led did its full share in the final development of Protestant convictions and Hetzer, though naturally a man of lesser ability and influence, may rightly be placed by the side of Zwingli and Luther. [460]

A faithful priest—a daring pioneer in Reformation thought—a brilliant humanist scholar and translator second to none in his day—a forceful writer and expositor of new doctrines—a trained theologian of deep religious insight—an ardent lover of freedom and justice—a beloved and honored leader of a despised and persecuted sect—a fearless and noble martyr for a righteous cause: such a man was Ludwig Hetzer.

[459] Beard.
[460] Brons.

A List of the Writings of Ludwig Hetzer.

I. September 24, 1523.
"The Judgment of God, our Spouse, (as to) how one should hold himself towards idols and images, from the Holy Scriptures, by Ludwig Hetzer. O God release the captives."

II.
"Acts or history of what went on at the disputation of the 26th, 27th and 28th days of October in the Christian city of Zurich before the honorably assembled Great and Small Councils, together with more than 500 priests and many other worthy people—concerning images and the mass. A. D. 1523. O God, release the captives. Printed in the Christian city of Zurich by Christopher Froschauer."

III.
"Letter of Rabbi Samuel to the Israelites, wherein is demonstrated the vain expectation of the Jews of a future Messiah."
Printed by Ottmar in Augsburg, January 2, 1524. Translated into German by Ludwig Hetzer.

IV.
"A short, well-founded explanation of the ten following Epistles of Saint Paul, first written in Latin by Johann Bugenhagen of Pomern, Bishop of Wittenberg, translated into German by Ludwig Hetzer." Being a commentary upon the letters to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, Philemon and Hebrews.

V.
"As to whether the new testament is correctly translated." By Ludwig Hetzer. A short note printed at Augsburg, October 15, 1524.

VI.
"Of Evangelical Reckonings and of Christian Doctrine out of Holy Scripture. Ludwig Hetzer. O God release the captives!" 1525.

VII.
"On the Sacrament of the Eucharist. An explanation of the true, natural meaning of the words of Christ: THIS IS MY BODY, according to the very ancient teachers, in Latin, written by Johannes Oecolampadius, translated into German by Ludwig Hetzer. O God, release the captives!" 1526.

VIII.
"On the Lord's Supper: Proof from evangelical writings as to who wrongly understands and explains the words of the Lord's Supper; also two sermons on the validity of the sacraments. Written in Latin by Johannes Oecolampadius, translated into German for the Christian public by Ludwig Hetzer." Printed by Thomas Wolff, Basel, 1526. Preface by Hetzer dated August 5, 1526.
Also the two parts were printed separately as follows:
(a.) "On the Lord's Supper: Proof from evangelical writings as to who wrongly understands and explains the Lord's Supper." Augsburg, 1526. Printed by Ulhart, omitting the two sermons.
(b.) "Two beautiful sermons." (Zwen schön sermon) Printed at Augsburg by Ulhart in 1526.

IX.
"Answer to the Letter of Johann Bugenhagen."
Written in Latin by Huldrych Zwingli. Translated into German (probably) by Ludwig Hetzer and printed at Zurich by Froschauer in 1526.
This appeared with the title: "Antwort uff die Epistel J. Pugenhagens."

X.
"The Prophet Malachi with explanations by Johannes Oecolampadius, written by him in Latin, and with diligence translated into German by Ludwig Hetzer. 1526." "Printed at Basle by Thomas Wolff. 1526." Preface by Hetzer dated July 18, 1526.

XI.
"The 36th and 37th chapters of the Prophet Isaiah, explained by Johannes Oecolampadius, translated by L. Hetzer." Printed by Silvan Ottmar in Augsburg, 1526.

XII.
"All of the Prophets translated into German out of the Hebrew tongue by Ludwig Hetzer and Hans Denck. O God, release the captives! Worms, Jo. Schöffer, 1527."

XIII.
A translation of the book of Baruch with a preface.
Lost.

XIV.
Lectures on the Scriptures.
These were never printed and the manuscript has been lost.

XV.
A book on Christ.
Never printed. Manuscript burned by Ambrosius Blaurer in 1552.

XVI.
Hymns written by Hetzer, four of which survive:
"Solltu bei Gott dein wonung han."
"Will sin vnd gmüet richt auf zu Gott."
"Gedult solt han—auf Gottes ban."
"Erzürn dich nit o fromer Christ."

XVII.
"Rhyme on the Crucifixion of Christ." "Reime unter dem Kreuzgang Christi." Only several verses from this poem by Hetzer have been preserved for us by Sebastian Frank in his Chronicle.

XVIII.
Letters. (To be found in the appendix).

XIX.
Theologia teutsch. Newlich mit grossem Fleiss corrigirt und gebessert. Etliche Hauptreden eynem jeden schüler Christi wol zu studiren. MDXXVIII. Edited by Ludwig Hetzer with a Preface said to be by Hans Denck—but expressing the ideas of Hetzer.

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"Biblia beyder Allt und Newen Testamentes, Teutsch." Worms, Peter Schöffer, 1529. Folio. (Graesse: Tresor des libres rare et precieux, 1859, I. p. 377., names Denck, Hetzer and Kautz as authors.) (Keller: Reformation.) The Weimar Edition of Luther's Works, Vol. II., p. 474, claims Luther had a hand in this.

XXI.
"Histori Michel Sattlers."
The Story of Michael Sattler's Martyrdom. (Hetzer is mentioned as the probable author of this work in the "Getreuen Warnung" of July 2, 1527, p. C-6, by the Strasbourg preachers.)

Vu
Le Doyen:
H. Strohl

Vu
Le Président de la soutenance:
F. Ménégoz

Vu et permis d'imprimer:
Le Recteur, président du Conseil de l'Université:

Ch. Pfister

Strasbourg, le 3 février 1930.

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LETTERS OF LUDWIG HETZER.

I.

Ludwig Hetzer to Huldrych Zwingli.

Augsburg, September 14, 1525.

Gratiam et pacem a deo per Christum, dominum nostrum.

Obtulit nobis, Zuingli candidissime, hiis diebus Silvanus Othmar, typographus Augustanus, epistolium stangneis (!) typis excusem, a Ioanne Bugenhaio (!) Pomerano ad Hessum quendam (quem ut meos novi digitulos) descriptum, in quo negotium Christi et eius mensae tanta dignitate, tam magistraliter tractat. ut exoptarim mihi miriadas Democritorum, qui id (ut condignum esset) exploderent, irriderent, imo concacarent etiam. Aspicio lego, admiror coecutientes theologos Christum nobis alibi quam a dextris patris sui ostendentes. Cogito, num cuius instinctu hoc factum esse possit; quis demon aut quae Medea (!) suas hic exantlarit vires! Subolebat enim me scire, unde haec Lerna profecta esset. En cogitando recordor sermonis Urbani Regii, cui hoc totum negotium acceptum ferre debes. Evenit enim ante annum, cum (ut scis) in Bavaria eram et capto castro Augustam veni, incidimus tunc forte fortuna in sermonem de libellulo quodam latinissime descripto, cui titulus, si bene lecta habeo: "Apologia Simonis Hessi contra episcopum Roffensem" etc. Ego arbitrabar Friburgi hunc esse natum. Urbanus autem subridens inquit: Ludovice, ariolare, quis ipse Hessus sit? Ego: non possum equidem, nisi, quantum ex stilo coniicio, reor me ipsum Friburgi novisse. Is vero impatiens (ut totus, quantus quantus est, cupidini auritulae hominum vivit), se sua frustrari laude: En, ait, ego Simon ille Hessus; eo, si uspiam quicpiam (!) hoc sub nomine vulgatum offendes, nostri Martis tela esse scias: ubi ubi sub fuco aut aliquid ago aut scribo, illud solitus sum adscribere nomen. Tu vero vide, doctissime Zuingli, quam non se recondi patitur sitibunda aurae sitis? Quam non tenebras amat ambitio? Quam bello sua indicio (ut adagio fertur) periit sorex? Urbanus Regius enim Hessus ille est, ad quem haec epistola missa. Is est Vratislaviensis ecclesie pastor, ipsus est doctissimus ille doctor. Audet enim suam venenatam linguam non alio pacto in te acuere, quam hoc fuco. Mirum quam odiat eos, qui aut bibi aut Carstadio, ut vulgo dicimus, adherent in hoc articulo de eucharistia, quam se iactitat posse TE DEO PNEUOTO scriptura (2 Tim. 3. 16) omnes, quotquot huius sententiae sint, refellere, si vellet. Ego dico: *ja*, si posset. Non audet alio modo contra te ire. Pertimet, ne humeris suis imponat, quod ferre recusent. Declinat tuam PARRESIAN. Rogo itaque te per deum immortalem, rogant mecum plurimi bonae fidei viri, ut alio epistolio refellas illud. Potes pulchre. Ansam habes. Exordium adest in Hesso, et quod utopiensem ecclesiam finxerit, cuius pastor sit. Belle agit; nam aliam non habet ecclesiam. Necessarium est fingere, ubi verum (!) caret. Pastor est, quemadmodum suffraganei episcopi sunt, apud Antipodas scilicet. Scio Christianum esse, plurima dissimulare, multa pati, convicia contemnere. Scio etiam non Christianum esse, ad Christi convicia connivere, quia nec ipse passus est obprobria in patrem suum, Mathae. 4 cap. (Matt. 4. 10). Tute scis, quid te deceat, ut depingendus sit suis coloribus et veritas vindiconda. Placet te huius admonere, de verbulo "Benedicimus", quod glossulavit Pomeranus: 1. quod vulgo consecramus. Num benedicere est consecrare? Vide insaniam hominum. Caeterum non video, quomodo possis recusare, quum id tot vere boni et pii flagitent viri, cumque id etiam Christo tuo debeas et eius membris. Epistolium hoc passim Augustae ostentatur: *Gellt*, inquiunt, Hector Zuinglius invenit ipso contanter de his adscribere aliquid. Tenes, quid Hezerus iam olim in hac

Pomeranum Achillem. Videtis, aiunt, quam constanter Pomeranus audeat dicere Zuinglium non esse in hac re theologum. Ex grammatica vincitur etiam. Quid committes huic, qui in re tam clara, in negotio tam aperto hallucinatur? etc. Omnia illa praetereunda forent, si saltem obfuscaretur nomen tuum. Homo enim es et paccator ex deo; quod autem veritas illic leditur, quod conscientiis periculum fit, hic labor, hoc opus erit, ut resarcietur (!). Nec hoc contenti: en advenit nuper alius doctor e carcere de Insprugk. Is primo satis bene de eucharistia sermocinabatur, at iam omnio rursus "urbanisat". Is, studens Urbano placere, interpretatur hoc epistolium et facit germanum. Sic semper similes habent labra lactucas. Nondum excusum vidi, misissem alias—omnia eo, ut totus mundus videat te tantorum errorum magistrum. Tu ex (the Knowledge of God). dei refelle, et vale cum tua familia. Novi plurimum, at nihil certi. Constanter fertur, futuras iam illico post Michaelem comicias (!) caesareas. Carolus ipse non veniet; commisit negotium suum ducibus quibusdam. *Der pundt* furit adhuc strenue. Saltzburgenses coloni fortiter depungnarunt (!): sunt enim ab universis novis depressionibus liberati; quae (!) Langius et eius praedecessor proximus excogitarunt. Nobilis ille Ieorgius Regel cum uxore sua sese totum tuae mandat fidei. Valde sibi timet a principe Bavaro. Adhuc carneum Christum edit. Ego non apud ipsum sum, ob eius timorem. Vivo, ut possum. Unicum hoc a te postulo, ut mihi rescribas; et si quid in te peccavi clementer indulge, quemadmodum et deus libenter nobis per Christum indulgit (!). Erravi, fateor; posthac caucior ero et paulo prudentius agam. At, mi Huldriche, ne pretereas has impudentes Urbani technas. Rescribe saltem aut unico aut altero verbulo. Leo Iud sanctus sit cum sua casta coniuge. *Der apt von Capel* (Wolfgang Joner) promiserat se mihi quicpiam (!) scripturum. Posses ipsum, quasi aliud agens, admonere. Mitto tibi hic epistolae huius quavis bovina merda vilioris exemplar, et aliud Nicolai de Amssdorff aeque sordidum. Literas tuas mitte Silvano Othmar calchographo. Curabit ille, ut habeam. Ego, ut imprimantur, faciam. Hec tecum solus cum solo. Urbanus enim, si resciret, plurimum mihi obesse posset. Parum abfuit, quin proprium misissem tabellionem ex aere quorundam fratrum. Offendi a casu hunc.

Vale et vive foeliciter in Christo Iesu, domino nostro. IS te confortet et servet castum corpore et mente adventui suo. Amen.

Datum Augustae adi (!) 14. Septembris anno etc. 1525.

Lugdovicus Hetzer, frater tuus.

Viro iuxta pio atque docto Huldricho Zuinglio, Tigurinae ecclesiae episcopo, fratri suo candidissimo.

(Zürich).

II.

Ludwig Hetzer to Zwingli.
Basel, October 17, 1525.

Graciam et pacem o deo nostro.

Audio te Pomeranis argumentis respondisse, Zuingli carissime. Reliquum est, quod magnopere expectamus, quid nobis dederis. Expectant nobiscum multi fratres Augustani, ut ipsi habeant, quod dicant. Facile enim non credis, quam insaniant, quanta tyrannide doctores illic seviant in diversum, at cum Christo, ab ipsis sentientes. Quorum clandestina malicia me exulem fecit. Necessarium fore iudico, ut responsio tua a quopiam transferatur ad nostram materiam fingnam; nam me Augusta abeunte editum est et Pomerani epistolium vulgare a doctore

Stephano Kastenbur versum. Ego iam adminiculis Oecolampadii verto ea, que "de genuino verborum domini sensu" perscripsit. Estque, quod timeam quicppiam in nomen Regii peccatum mea negligentia, quod me certe angit. Ita enim propicio Christo nostro instituam vitam, ut merito me culpare aut deferre nemo possit.

Vale et vive cum tota ecclesia et familia tua.

Basilee 17. Octobris anno 1525.

Si tibi non grave foret, rescriberes aut saltem duo amica verbula.

Ludovicus Hetzer tuus, ut vis.

Clarissimo et docto viro Huldrico Zuinglio, maiori et fratri suo.

Zurich.

III.

Ludwig Hetzer to Zwingli.
Basel, December 30, 1525.

Gratiam et pacem a deo per Christum.

Tuo nomine, observandissime Zuingli, loquutus hodie cum Chumrado Pellicans, quam potui officiosissime. Narravi commoditates aedium, item desiderium omnium bonorum vivorum, qui apud vos multi sunt, interim etiam aptam occasionem, qua a superstitioso cucullo liberetur. Videbatur plane risu suo adsentire, et mire ei hanc ipam vocationem arridere, licet etiam semel aut iterum (ut decet) ingemuit, timens, ne non sufficere possit. Quum vero doctius (!) non previderi possit, se id lubens operis subire spopondit. si modo certum sit, aiebat. Ego tuo nomine promisi, tibique a senatu collocatam esse potestatem doctum quempiam eligendi, quem certo, ut meum indicium fert, doctissimum habes. Ego foeliciter Basilean veni, nisi quod ter imbellis ille equulus mecum sese humi prostrarit. Ob quam levavit optimus maximus deus, ne fregerim crus aut aliud membrum! Certe non mirum, etiamsi corpusculum meum infirmum alias prorsus periiset. Ioanni Oecolampadio fideliter omnia commissa retuli. Fert magnam senatus infidelitatem. Solus laborat, solus est. Quid multis? Dignus, ut in pistrina pro multis molat. Deus vero semel vultum suum ostendet (Ps. 13:2. 4. etc.). Vilhelmo a Cella dic me adhuc mandatorum suorum recentem habere memoriam; faciam quam diligentissime.

Vale.

Penultima Decembris 1525.

Ludovicus Hetzerus.

Eximio viro dei Huldrycho Zuinglio, pr acceptori et fratri suo observandissimo.

Zürich.

OTHER LETTERS

IV.

Letter of Ludwig Hetzer to Wolfgang Capito —probably written in January 1527 after Hetzer's departure from Strasbourg.

"En optime mi Capito, id mihi excidit, sunt adhuc te tria vasa, quibus resculae nostrae advectae sunt, ea tradidi huic Fridolino in usum prolis. Praeterea etiam ei liceat pulpita (ut vocant) librorum accipere. Vale et te ita per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum adhortor admoneoque ut mihi clementer ignoscere velis, si in te quicquam peccavi. Ego certe omnia quamvis grandia tibi ex animo remitto. Ach, Capito, tandem totum deponeremus veterem hominem, et in vitae novitate ambularemus. Sit tibi dimidium animae meae Balthazar in domino commendatus. Oh rerecundam indolem. Vale perpetuo in Jesu domino nostro.

Lud. Hetzerus.

V.

Michael Hummelberg to Thomas Blaurer.
Ravensburg, November 5, 1525.

"Salutem plurimam dicit. Nunquid non aver scire, quur nuper, dum apud vos essem, in Urbanum nostrum Regium invectus sit variis conviciis Ludovicus Hetzer, rebaptizatorum sectae gloriosulus propugnator? Audi, paucis edisseram. Locum hunc Jo (hannis) VI: "E SARX SUN OPHELEI OUDEN" Urbanus pro suggestu publice tum scripturarum testimoniis tum efficacissimis rationibus e Carlstadianorum manibus fortiter et feoliciter extorserat omnibus adplaudentibus. Quod quum ille seditiose hunc inde cavillaretur et reprehenderet apud sectatores suos evocatus est ab Urbano in publicam arenam et disputationem. Sed quum stato die, ut manum cominus consereret, non comparuisset, per senatum Augustanum mox urbe est eiectus et proscriptus ceu homo seditiosus, impurus et evangelii hostis. Hinc illi istae fuere lachrymae, hinc furor et stomachus in Urbanum. Saluta meis verbis Ambrosium, fratrem tuum, et Vannium, communem amicum nostrum. Te Christus servet. Ravenspurgi OTI TAXIST a die nonarum Novembris MDXXV

Michael Humelbergius.

VI.

Ambrosius Blaurer to Ulrich Zwingli.
Constance, November 4, 1525.

"..... Saluta Leonem (Leo Jud) tuum nostris verbis et Hezerum (Ludwig Hetzer), si istic est....."

VII.

Urbanus Rhegius to Ambrosius Blaurer.
Augsburg, January 22, 1529.

"..... Hetzerum aiunt contra Christi divinitatem scripsisse abominandes impietates; queso, frater, eradica plantationem hanc pestilentissimam, ne dent hec contagia labem. Praesagiit animus meus iam olim Hetzerum fatali nomine sic vocatum nihil aliud quam certam ecclesie perniciem moliri. Non erat tantum temporis, ut scriberem latius. Vale, frater optime. Ex Augusta 22. Ianuarii anno 1529.

Urbanus Rhegius.

VIII.

Urbanus Rhegius to Ambrosius Blaurer.
Augsburg, February 21, 1529.

"Audio Hetzerum in errore perstitisse, immo plenum satanicis doctrinis emigrasse ex hac vita; esse tamen apud vos quosdam,—nolo indicare nomina—, qui cecati insani hominis hypocrisi, qua populum dementavit, descripturos se polliciti sunt christianissimi Hetzeri preciosam mortem; ita ipsi ad quosdam Augustenses scripsere. Quae res parum honoris adferet christianissimo senatui vestra; si enim Hetzerus christianus est, consequitur Constantienses esse ethnicos, qui iustum et christianum occiderint. Proh pudor, quanta est hominum cecitas! Proinde vigila, veta, ne quid tale a vestris scribatur. Palam est Hetzerum fuisse Arianum, ut reliquas doctrine pestes taceam, et nunc fex anabaptistarum corruporum mente Hetzerum in catatogum divorum referet scilicet! Tuum erit, vir optime, sopire Hetzeri et nomen et insanias, ne det hec contagio labem.
"Augustae Vindelicorum dominica Reminiscere anno 1529."

IX.

Thomas Blaurer to Ambrosius Blaurer.
Constance, December 9, 1531.

"..... Incidit iam hoc mihi: Capitonem fama est, sed hand scio an credi debeat tale quid de viro tanto, asti pulari Iudeis quibusdam de Christi divinitate. Vellem te per legatum hunc nostrum, qui Argentoratenses Francofordie socios habebit, aut per certum tabellarium aliquem vel primum Buccero vel iam homini ipso contanter de his adscribere aliquid. Tenes, quid Hezerus iam olim in hac questione clanculum lucubrarit. His autem tam iniquis et vanis exordiis quam facile totus christianismus expungetur....."
"Constantie VIII. Xbris die MDXXXI."

X.

Matthaeus Zell to Ambrosius Blaurer.

Strasbourg, June 12, 1534.

".....longe enim alium se exhibuit quam Hetzer vestu a vestro magistratu decollatus....."
(In connection with Klaus Frey an anabaptist of Strasbourg.)

XI.

Ambrosius Blaurer to Oswald Myconius.

Biel, September, 30, 1552.

"..... Invenit apud me clarissimus medicus libellos duos Hetzero auctore conscriptos, quibus Fuccarus ille bibliothecam, quam tantis sumptibus meditatur, ornatam cupit, et alterius quidem describendi potestatem band gravate feci, quod crassiores habeat errores, quam qui cuiquam paullo cordatiori imponere facile possint; alterum vero libere, sed tamen cum bona viri gratia, quod debui sane, negavi. Sic etenim non resipit solum pestilentissimus ac plus quam blasphemum Arrii dogma, verum etiam ita totum spiritum ipsius refert, ut, si cui Pythagorica illa 'metempsychosis' placeat, omnino dicturus sit, cunctum huius animum in Hetzerum immigrasse. Praestabit igitur ac multo praestabit sepultum adeoque prorsus extinctum esse hoc dulce quidem, sed praesentissimum venenum, quam tanto multorum periculo diutius alicubi servari; quin etiam auctor ipse magna iniuria afficeretur, qui iam ob enormia nonnulla flagitia sua extremo supplicio rogavit, ut, quoad eius fieri posset, caveretur, ne unquam uspiam scripta quaedam sua in publicum ex irent, atque inter illa suum de Christo libellum disertis verbis numeravit. Nihil est igitur, quod Fuccarus mihi succenseat, si illum non accipit, nec fraudi istuc bibliothecae suae fuerit, si eo libro, qui nus quam sit, ipsa quoque careat; (Blaurer knew right well that Fugger stood close to the Schwenkfelders in Augsburg, to whom George Regel and his wife, the so-called "spiritual" wife of Hetzer, belonged.) nam extra exemplum, quod mecum habeo, nullum aliud usquam extare certis adductus rationibus lubenter mihi persuadeo; curabo vero, ut apud me quoque tantis per etiamnum nec diutius maneat, quam dum denuo relectux mox rapacibus flammis iniiciatur.....
"Bielis pridie calendas Octobris 1552."

XII.

Vadianus said of Hetzer:

"Hetzerum commodissimi ingenii hominem meministi, quocum et ipse tot modisclaro viro, linguis etiam et admirabili ingenii dex teritate praedito, non semel egi, ne supra quam deceret, sapere peregeret."
Hagen, p. 291.

XIII.

Wolfgang Capito to Zwingli, dated Strasbourg, July 7, 1527.

(Z. S. W. 9:167-168.)

.....Catapatistae nos vehementer turbant. Antesignanus est Hezerus, absens licet, qui nuper apud te revocavit. Christum apertissime negant. Wormatiae omnibus concionatoribus est interdictum, ne amplius concionentur, consentiente plebe; tantum potuit pestis illa Hezerus, et Cuciuc quidam, illic concionator. Palatinus irritatur hinc adversus verbum. Verum nihil eis decedit, modo verbum ne in publico audiatur. Quam atrox odium et conspiratio adversus crucem domini! Nam omnino negant Christi meritum. Denckius, dux huius blasphemiae, et Hezerum facile obtinuit.....

XIV.

Capito to Zwingli, July 9, 1527.

(Z. S. W. 9:171-172.)

.....Pridem misi articulos Cucii, quos ille a Denckio et Hezero tuo hausit. Wormatia prorsus addicavit verbum regni, consensu publico. Tantas turbas Hetzerus praecipue dedit, et egregium istud facinus nostri baptistae laudibus vehunt. Hoc est eis studium, ut evertant, quicquid Christi superest. Cur igitur vicissim, ut hostes capitales non arceremus a caulis ovium nostrarum? Quare in hoc toti sumus, ut suis coloribus ecclesiae depingantur, ad quam rem opus esset, ut per aliquem ex tuis nobis describendum curares, quid in ista vestra vicinia insidiarum ac doli instituerint. Te enim nugis eiusmodi degravare nolo.....

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